

*"VASUDHAIVA KUTUMBAKAM"*

# **PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL SANSKRIT CONFERENCE**

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, NEW DELHI INDIA

**March 26th-31st 1972**  
**Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi.**

GENERAL EDITOR  
Dr. R.K. Sharma, M.A. Ph D. (Calif.)  
*Director Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan*

**Vol. IV**

(Papers on different aspects of Sanskrit  
Literature, thought and Culture)

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## PREFACE

The International Sanskrit conference held in New Delhi in March, 1972 marks a great event in the history of World Sanskrit Scholarship. The focal point of the conference was a study of relationships of Sanskrit language and literature with the various parts of the World. The proceedings of this Conference thus present a comprehensive account of what Sanskrit gave to the World Community and vice-versa, justifying the motto of the Conference "वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्" ।

\* I have great pleasure in presenting Vol. IV of the proceedings of the Conference to our distinguished readers. This Vol. contains articles on diverse topics of Sanskrit Language, Literature, thought and Culture. I am quite sure that all the Vols. of the proceedings taken together will represent a Thesaurus of information on contribution of Sanskrit to the various disciplines and the various regions to Sanskrit studies and will open a new dimension of Indological research.

I am very sorry that the publication of the proceedings has been inordinately delayed, in view of certain unavoidable circumstances including the sad demise of the late Lamented Prof. V. Raghavan. All the same, we are happy to announce the publication of all the Volumes of the proceedings on the occasion of the 5th World Sanskrit Conference being held at Vārānasi on Oct., 21-26, 1981.

"क्लेशः फलेनहि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते" ।

—R. K. SHARMA







## CONTENTS

|                                                                        | Page |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| 1. Methods of the Recital of Veda Texts                                | 1    |
| <i>K.V. Abhyankar</i>                                                  |      |
| 2. Prātisākhya and Padapāṭha (Avagraha)                                | 11   |
| <i>Prof. K.L. Sharma</i>                                               |      |
| 3. Ternary Structures in the Upaniṣad                                  | 30   |
| <i>Prof. Jean Naudau, France</i>                                       |      |
| 4. Pāṇini's Grammar and Contemporary Language                          | 35   |
| <i>Dipti Sharma</i>                                                    |      |
| 5. Definition of Upasargas in Pāṇini                                   | 43   |
| <i>Mahavir, Delhi</i>                                                  |      |
| 6. The nature and Role of Poetic Intuition according to Indian Poetics | 49   |
| <i>Biṣṇupada Bhattācharyā</i>                                          |      |
| 7. A Dubious Passage in the Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of Aśoka     | 72   |
| <i>Dr. S.N. Ghosal</i>                                                 |      |
| 8. New Light of Kālidāsa                                               | 81   |
| <i>Dr. T.G. Mainkar, Bombay</i>                                        |      |
| 9. The Mahābhārata War                                                 | 86   |
| <i>E. Vedavyas, I.A.S.</i>                                             |      |

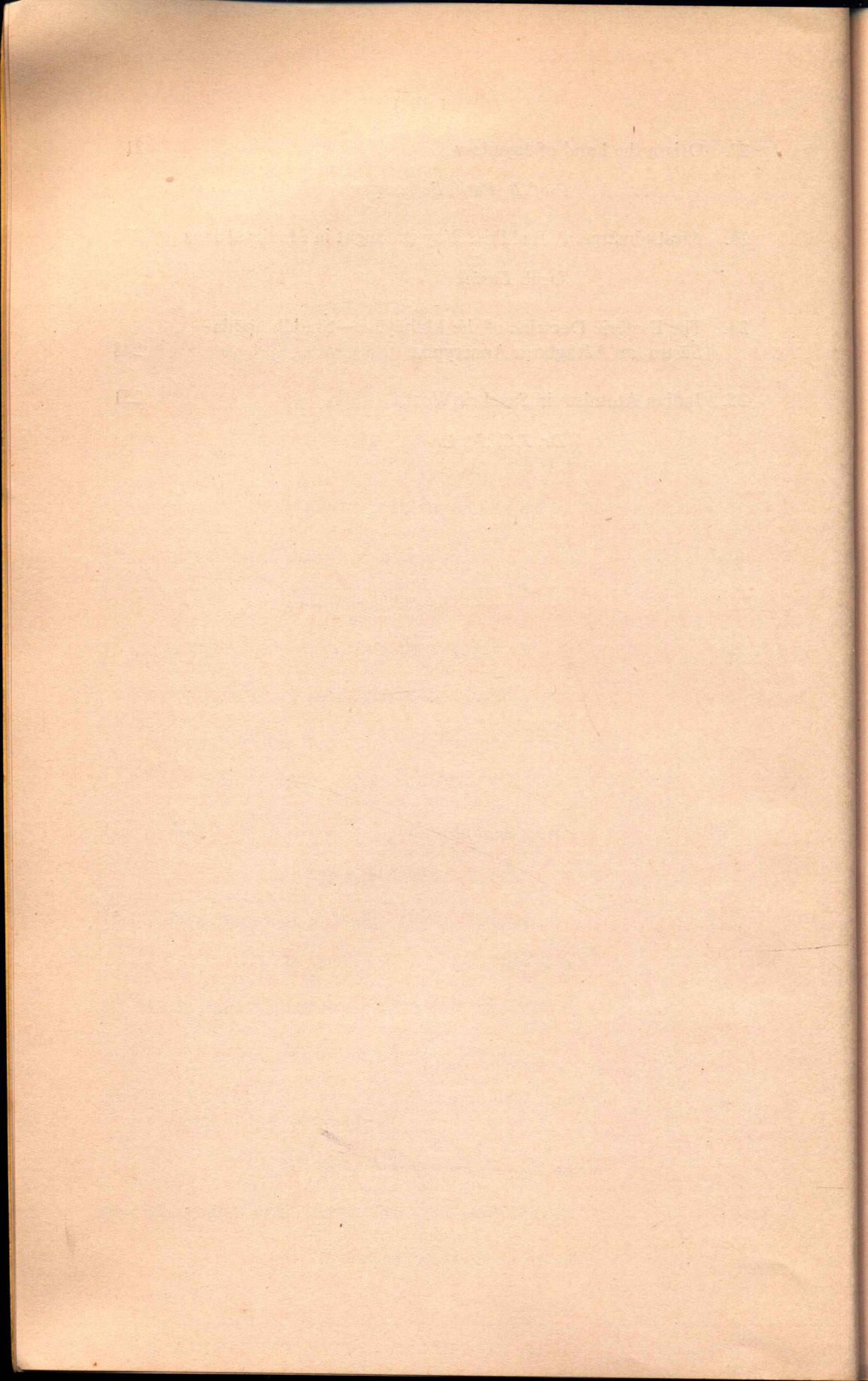


|                                                                                 |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 10. Age of the Mahābhārata War                                                  | 106 |
| <i>Amulya Kumar Bhattāchārya, Gauhati</i>                                       |     |
| 11. The Significance of the Purāṇic Sunaḥśepa Legend                            | 109 |
| <i>Yoshihiro Matsunami</i>                                                      |     |
| 12. Jagannātha and its Scientific Exposition                                    | 115 |
| <i>Dr. Ashok Majumdar M.B.B.S., Varanasi</i>                                    |     |
| 13. Jagannātha—The Symbol of Universal Fraternity                               | 135 |
| <i>Benimādhav Padhi, Berhampur</i>                                              |     |
| 14. Notes on the Concept of Nārāyaṇa                                            | 140 |
| <i>Chinmayi Chatterji</i>                                                       |     |
| 15. The Concept of Yugas in Ancient India                                       | 146 |
| <i>Dr. P.G. Lalye, Hyderabad</i>                                                |     |
| 16. Esoteric Element in the Trika Philosophy of Kashmir                         | 151 |
| <i>D.B. Sen, Kurukṣetra</i>                                                     |     |
| 17. A Yantra of the Tāntrikas and its Implications                              | 161 |
| <i>J. Misra, Bhagalpur</i>                                                      |     |
| 18. A New Approach to Philosophical Thought                                     | 173 |
| <i>Dr. Srijiya Nyaya Tirtha Bhatpara</i>                                        |     |
| 19. Early Philosophical speculation in the Ṛg Veda                              | 178 |
| <i>W, Norman Brown, U.S.A.</i>                                                  |     |
| 20. The Vijñānavāda Theory as presented in the fourth Chapter of Māṇḍūkyakārikā | 185 |
| <i>Dr. Hajime Nakamura, Tokyo, Japan</i>                                        |     |
| 21. The Author of the Kṛṣṇacarita, the Gadyakāvya                               |     |
| <i>T. Venkatachāryā, Toronto, Canada</i>                                        |     |



22. Orissa the Land of Jayadeva 215  
*Prof. B. Rath, Berhampur*
23. Paratramārga, A Buddhist Way as taught in Medieval Java 232  
*Jacob Ensink*
24. The Esoteric Doctrine of the Mahāyāna—Śraddhotpāda—  
Śāstra, an Aśvaghoṣa Apocrypha 248
25. Indian Atomism in Sanskrit Works 251  
*Dr. J.C. Sikdar*







## METHODS OF THE RECITAL OF VEDA-TEXTS

K. V. Abhyankar

*Hon. Professor of Sanskrit. B.O.R.I. Poona*

There are reasons to believe that the present text of the Rgveda-Saṁhitā has not come down to us in the same manner and in the same tone in which it was originally recited. At the time when the original hymns were composed, Sanskrit was a spoken language and words were accented with a stress to convey the sense easily and effectively, especially in addresses and conversations. The original Saṁhitā text of the bards was recited in a strict and correct metrical form in a sonorous tone with pauses generally at the end of two or three words in a quarter with specific endings. The Vedic poets recited in strict verse form, the original hymns with quarters made up of 8, 11 or 12 syllables. The quarter of 8 syllables had many times the iambic rhythm in the last quarter, made up of alternative short and long syllables, while the Trīstub quarter always ended with a short and two long vowels and the Jagati with two pairs of short and long vowels. In their meticulous attention to the number of syllables in each foot sometimes vowels in juxta-position were not joined together, while on occasions, conjunct consonants with य् or व् as the second consonant were separated and the vowel इ was added before य and the vowel उ before व्. See for instance स त्वं (तुवं) नो अग्ने, देव्ये (देविये) जने. After the lapse of a few centuries, when the sense of the Vedic hymns became difficult to understand, scholars of Veda prepared the saṁhitā text by observing all rules of Sandhi except in the case of pragr̥hya vowels, and combining together such parts of words as had been uttered separately, for the sake of metre. Promoted mainly by the desire of preserving intact the Veda text, scholars of Veda began to recite the stress accented text of the Saṁhitā in three accents without disturbing the position of the udātta vowel in any way. These scholars in order to prevent the loss of a short vowel, generally by the vowel अ, when preceded by a vowel with the stress accent and followed by unaccented short-vowelled syllables, recited the vowel preceding the udātta vowel in a tone attended by a sort of intaking of the voice calling it anudātta, while they recited the vowel succeeding the udātta in a tone characterized by a sort of outsending the voice, calling it svarita. The recital of Veda with



the three tones described above, came to be called त्रैस्वर्यपाठ which has been followed upto the present day in all the different provinces of India, being handed over by oral tradition of recital from generation to generation for a period of well-nigh four thousand years.

The several Veda texts although furnished with three musical tones instead of the old single stress accent, began to have their meaning more and more unintelligible in course of time and some measures became necessary to be taken by means of which the sense could be more intelligible. One of these measures was the Pada-pāṭha in which the constituent words of the saṁhitā text were recited separately by removing the phonetic combinations which occurred in the Saṁhitā text by virtue of the juxta-position of words. Similarly, the secondary svarita accent, prescribed in the place of anudātta following udātta, if occurring at the end of a word, was retained as svarita. So also, in the case of compound words the two constituent words were shown separately. This was done by observing a short pause in utterance at the end of the first word. This short pause was observed even before a case-affix or a Taddhita affix beginning with a consonant except य् provided the base preceding the affix was found unchanged by rules of coalescence. So also, in cases where in the Saṁhitā pāṭha न् had been changed into ण् or स् into प् or anudātta vowel into svarita vowel by rules of grammar, the original letters न् and स् were restored in the Padapāṭha, as also the anudātta accent. The Padapāṭha, in short, can be said to represent a sort of rudimentary grammar of the running Saṁhitā text.

The authors of the Padapāṭhas of the various Saṁhitā texts not only possessed a sound knowledge of grammar as far as phonetic changes and accents were concerned, but they possessed quite a good knowledge of the sense of the vedic texts, which enabled them to split up the compound words correctly as also to restore the changed forms of words to the original ones. As Yāska, the author of the Nirukta has observed, they did not split the word अवसाय in the sentence अवसाय पद्वते रुद्र मृड (R.V. 10.149.1) as it is a single word, while they split it into अव and साय in the passage विमुच्या वयोऽवसायाश्वान् (R.V.I. 104.1). They recited the padapāṭha of मो षू ण इन्द्र as मो । सु । नः । इन्द्र । The Pada text does not appear to have been composed side by side with the Saṁhitā text, nor immediately after it, but a pretty long period of time must have elapsed between the compositions of the two texts. Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya has stated in clear words that in cases of conflict the authority of the rules of grammar as given by Pāṇini and the authors of the Prātiśākhya have to be followed and the authors of the Padapāṭha are bound to



follow them. He has pointed out, that the words आज्यम् (R.V. X. 90.6) and आशितः (R.V. X. 14.1) are made up of आ and अज्य and आ and आशित and hence, they should have been shown separately in the Padapāṭha. Vyāḍi has quoted a solitary instance of difference of accent in the case of the word आदित्य in the passage सजोषसा उषसा सूर्येण चादित्यैर्यातमश्विना (R.V. VIII. 35.13-15) saying that in the Padapāṭha the vowel आ is shown as अनुदात्त (आदित्यैः) while, in the Saṁhitā it is shown as उदात्त, when as a matter of fact, it should be अनुदात्त in both the Pāṭhas.

Scholars of Vedas in course of time, took one more step for preserving intact the Veda text by composing the kramapāṭha in which each word in the Saṁhitā except the initial one, is recited twice as joined with the preceding word and with the following word as for instance अग्निमीडे । ईजे पुरोहितम् । पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य । पुरोहितमिति पुरोऽहितम् । यज्ञस्य देवम् । देवमृत्विजम् । ऋत्विजमित्यृत्विजम् । In the kramapāṭha the Saṁdhi rules are observed as in the Saṁhitāpāṭha, the accents are not changed; but if a compound word is split up into two parts, the word इति is put after the compound word, and the two members of the compound are shown with a short pause between them. Similarly, single-lettered indeclinables and words at the end of the feet of verses have the word इति placed after them. Sometimes, instead of pairs of words which are taken one after another, in the recital, three words or four or in rare cases five words are taken together in the kramapāṭha. The additional words generally are single-syllaballed indeclinables like आ, उ, सु, स्म and others which are enumerated in the individual Prātiśākhya. The krama recital was current before Pāṇini as Pāṇini has derived the word क्रमक in the sense of a student of kramapāṭha by applying the affix वृन् to the word क्रम. It is noteworthy that there is no mention of क्रम in the sense of क्रमपाठ in the Taittiriya Prātiśākhya, while, in the Ṛk Prātiśākhya, a chapter is devoted to it and in the Vājasaneyaprātiśākhya many sūtras are allotted to it. Can the Taittiriya Prātiśākhya be Pre-Pāṇini and the other Prātiśākhyas post-Pāṇini or revised and enlarged after Pāṇini ? The name of Vyāḍi occurs in the Ṛk prātiśākhya in the context of krama.

Partly with a desire of offering further measures for preserving intact the traditional Saṁhitā text of the Vedas, but mostly with a desire to make a display of their sharp intelligence and strong memory, the scholars of Veda in a few centuries before Pāṇini introduced, in addition to the Saṁhitā, the pada and the krama recitals, eight more varieties of recital taking the words of the Saṁhitā texts by pairs and triads and putting them in the regular and reverse orders. These modes of recital were known by the name 'aṣṭavikṛti' or eight modifications of recital.



All these eight modifications are based on the *Samhitā*, the *Pada* and the *krama* recitals and they could be called further developments of the basic three. The first of these eight forms is known by the name *Jaṭā* of which the rest are modifications which can be framed and understood if and after the first has been mastered. The *jaṭā* is formed by reciting generally a pair of words but on a few occasions three, four or even five words in their regular order, then in the reverse order and then again in the regular order, after which the first word of the pair, if a compound word, is shown by enclosure, known by the words वेष्टन or इङ्गन, in which इति is placed after the word and the word is again uttered. This enclosure or वेष्टन is used in the case of the additional words in the त्रिक्रमजटा, or चतुष्क्रमजटा or पञ्चक्रमजटा as also in the case of words which are changed in form in the *Samhitā* by virtue of juxtaposition. After the first pair, say 1 and 2, is recited in the *jaṭā* form as 122112, the second pair say 2 and 3, is taken and recited as 233223. Then the third pair of 3 and 4, and so on. This is done up to the end of half a verse. The three pairs of words in the *jaṭā* recital are uttered as one sentence or unit. So also the sentence of 'enclosure' or वेष्टनवाक्य is taken as one unit for the sake of coalescence and accentuation, but the accents are not to be changed. The *jaṭā* recital of 3, 4 or 5 words in a group is in practice in those cases only where there is the *krama* recital of three, four, or five words, as prescribed in the *Prātiśākhya* works. The *jaṭā* recitals of the group of three, four or five words, is known as त्रिक्रमजटा, चतुष्क्रमजटा and पञ्चक्रमजटा. In the case of the recital in reverse order, known by the terms विलोम and व्युत्क्रम, rules of grammar are to be followed for the sake of the coalescence of vowels or consonants in juxtaposition, the accents are nowhere to be changed but, such words, as have a changed form in the *Samhitā* recital, are to be recited in their original form, for instance मो षु णो नः सु मो मो षुणः । वायवायाहि याह्यवायो वायवायाहि ।

The formation of the *jaṭā* from the *Samhitā*, is apparently an easy work, but its actual formation at different places in the *Samhitā* text presents many difficulties, especially regarding the formation of the middle member, technically named व्युत्क्रम or विलोम or the recital in the reverse order which is not looked upon as a genuine part of the *Veda* text. The ordinary rules of grammar are to be applied in their case and not the special ones given in the *Prātiśākhya* works. Secondly, current words in the language are to be put in the place of the changed ones as is done in the case of the *Pada* recital, wherein natural word forms are substituted for such words as have undergone changes by reason of juxtaposition in the *Samhitā* text. These changes are, for example, lingualization (षत्व and णत्व), nazalization, substitution of long vowels for short ones,



special coalescence of vowels or otherwise for the sake of metrical needs and the like. The general ruling is given that in the case of the reverse recital the individual words are to be recited as they are found in the pada-recital. Still, minor differences arose regarding the enclosure of a word by इति called वेष्टन and the quaver of the svarita accent or कम्प occurring as a result of the coalescence of vowels, especially the coalescence of ए and ओ with the following अ. These and other differences in the recital, current in their days were noticed by scholars of Veda who discussed these problems and wrote short guides and treatises on the formation of the eight modes of recital.

Among scholars of Veda, who undertook to sketch briefly the general principles underlying the formation of the eight recitals and lay down rules drawn from the recitals going on in their days, Vyāḍi occupies a very prominent place. He is believed to have written a small treatise named विकृतिवल्ली, defining the eight forms of the recital of the Veda-Saṁhitā texts. No work, mentioned by the name विकृतिवल्ली by the author himself is available ; In the Government collection of manuscripts at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, there is a manuscript named जटाविकृतिलक्षण covering 14 folios wherein, a small treatise, bearing no name, but dealing with the jaṭā form, ends and immediately i. e. without any mention of the name of the author or the work, another begins at the end of which the author has given his name as गङ्गाधरभट्टाचार्य and विकृतिकौमुदी as the name of the work which is a commentary on Vyāḍi's विकृतिवल्ली. This makes it clear that the original work in 21 anuṣṭup stanzas dealing with the jaṭā form is Vyāḍi's 'Vikṛtivalī'. Besides these 21 stanzas dealing with the jaṭā form only, there are six more stanzas defining the remaining seven forms quoted by other commentators as Vyāḍi's definitions. There is discovered a very small manuscript, giving together these 27 verses only. This vikṛtivalī of Vyāḍi can be looked upon as the oldest and the first manual on the eight forms of the recital of the Vedā Saṁhitā texts. As the text of all the 14 folios is written continuously, it becomes evident that the short treatise in the first four folios is a commentary by Gangādharaḥṭṭācārya himself on twelve stanzas in the upajāti metre dealing with the same subject viz. the jaṭā form of recital. This text of twelve stanzas is found to have been commented on by later scholars of Veda who have named it 'Jaṭāpaṭalā'. A treatise named 'Jaṭāpaṭaladīpikā' written by दयाशङ्कर घरणीघर व्यवहार (वहोरा) in samvat 1811, is found which is a commentary on these twelve stanzas which the author has described as based upon the views of Hayagriva. It is evident in the light of the above-mentioned facts that the 'vikṛtivalī' dealing with the eight forms of recital and the 'Jaṭāpaṭalā' dealing with the Jaṭā form are the two old basic works.



Just like the 'Vikṛtivalī' and the 'Jaṭāpātala', there is a work of 56 stanzas dealing with the eight recitals which is known by the name 'Madhusūdanīśikṣa'. The work has got a comparatively large commentary. In the benedictory stanza of this work, the author has described himself as a sanyasī (मस्करी) and the son of Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana. From the style of writing and related topics introduced in the work, the commentator appears to have been a comparatively modern scholar. The work is named अष्टौविकृतिविवरण. It deals mainly with the Jāṭa recital. A few stanzas at the end are devoted to the other seven recitals. It is likely that Madhusūdana is the author of the commentary and perhaps the same as the author of the Siddhāntabindu and the Advaita-siddhi. This treatise is printed in the Vaṇivilasa Press, Śrīrangam under the auspices of the Śrīṅgerī-maṭha and edited by a scholar of Veda, but, it is wanting in some pages at the end which are found in three available manuscripts. Besides, there are no accents marking the quotations of the Veda-passages therein.

So far, two commentaries are available on the Vikṛtivalī of Vyādi, one by Gangadhara Bhaṭṭacārya, referred to above, named Vikṛtikaumudī and the other by Anantācārya Nāgadeva named 'jaṭā-Lakṣaṇakārikāvyaṅkyā. There are also two commentaries available on the jaṭāpātala of Hayagrīva—one possibly by Gangādhara Bhaṭṭacārya, referred to above, and the other by Dayashankar Dharaṇīdhara Vyavahāra. The original kārikās of Vyādi and Hayagrīva are almost similar to each other and discuss the same smaller topics. The commentators on Vyādi's Vikṛtivalī quote mostly from the Ṛgveda, and they describe Vyādi to have been a follower of the śaiśirīya school which they say is the same as the Aitareya-śākhā. Vyādi's name is mentioned in the Rkprātiśākhya and the last verse in the kramapātala is assigned to him. It cannot be said definitely whether he was the author of the gigantic vyākaraṇa work Saṁgraha as also the author of the Paribhāṣā-sūcana. The commentators on Hayagrīva's jaṭāpātala quote mostly from the Yajurveda and show differences regarding some minor details such as the Veṣṭana and the kampa. Madhusūdana's commentary is allied to both the schools, although at places it is more inclined towards Hayagrīva's school. It quotes passages for illustration mostly from the Yajurveda-saṁhitā. Just as a pretty good knowledge of the Kramapāṭha, as given in the Prātiśākhya works is necessary for a careful study of the eight vikṛtis, in the same way a general knowledge of accents, especially that of the original svarita accent with its four types, is also necessary. The four varieties of the independent svarita are discussed and explained in the Prātiśākhya works. An independent treatise, devoted to the treatment of the original svarita, by name Śvarāṅkuṣa written by Jayantabhaṭṭa with a lucid commentary by Nīlakaṇṭha is available in manuscript form. The discussion of quaver or quivering utterance



of the svarita vowel, which is technically given the name kampa, is very useful for understanding the nature of kampa and the minor differences regarding it in the three schools mentioned above.

To prepare and present a correct text of the handbooks mentioned above is not an easy work as the text is very incorrectly written in the manuscripts. The Veda passages which are quoted copiously, are also written carelessly and usually the accents are not marked. It is a lucky thing however, that a pretty good number of manuscripts is available. There are two or three manuscripts available in the case of all the small treatises mentioned above, and it is possible to secure some more, especially from the private collections of old Vedic families. Out of the manuscripts collected so far, four are obtained from the Bhadarkar Oriental Research Institute and four from Bhalchandra Bhattaji Karambelkar who is engaged in writing down the text of the eight recitals as heard from scholars who have committed them to memory. Besides these, two more manuscripts are procured from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, one from Vārānasi and two from Satārā. To speak about the preparation of the jaṭa form alone with the help of these texts, although the method is easy viz. to recite two words in the regular order, then in the reverse order and then again in the regular order e. g. अग्निमीडं ईडेग्निमग्निमीडे (122112), still, in many places the arrangement in the reverse order opens many new questions creating a difference of opinion among the commentators. Some of the important questions with their answers are given below—

1. Whether or not the words in the reverse order are to be phonetically joined with the preceding and the following words. Ans. They are to be joined.

2. Whether or not the accents of the words in the reverse order which become liable to be changed by virtue of juxta-position are to be changed. Ans. They are not to be changed.

3. Whether or not the words in the reverse order are to follow their form as given in the Saṁhitā text or that given in the Pada text when the forms are found different. Ans. They are to follow the form as given in the Pada recital e. g. सु for षु, नः for णः, अकृत for अस्कृत, अरैक for आरैक, स्म for ष्म. नु for पू, घ for द्या etc.

4. Whether the kramapāṭha of 3, 4 or 5 words instead of the usual two in some cases, is to be followed in the jaṭapāṭha or pairs are always to be taken. Ans. the kramapāṭha is to be followed strictly; only the words intervening between the first and the last word are to be recited along



with the first and the last. In short, they occur only thrice and not six times as the other ones and they are to be shown by वेष्टन.

5. Whether the jaṭā recital is to follow the pada recital in places where the pada recital omits a collection of three or more words when they have already occurred thrice. Ans. The omitted words in the pada-pāṭha which are known by the terms गलपद, गलित, समय and गलना also, are to be recited only once and not to be repeated. Their form is to be shown by वेष्टन.

6. Whether the jaṭāpāṭha is to follow the padapāṭha or the Saṁhitā pāṭha in the three solitary cases where the Saṁhitāpāṭha is found to have inserted a word or two between the two members of a compound word as in शुनश्चिच्छ्रेणं निदितम्, नरा वा शंसं दैव्यम्, द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमेते and so on. Ans. the jaṭāpāṭha is to follow the Padapāṭha.

7. Whether the words in the reverse order which become liable to be coalesced are to be joined together by the rules given in the Prātiśākhya or by rules given in grammar works. Ans. The Prātiśākhya rules, if applicable, are to be strictly followed.

8. Whether the peculiar svarita accent, attended with tremor of voice or kampa, resulting from the combination of vowels, is to be strictly followed in the reverse order. Ans. The Svarita accent is to be uttered with tremor in some cases only, especially when the svarita accent is followed by an acute-accented vowel. The Tattiriyas allow the kampa in very few limited cases.

9. Whether the words which are technically termed pragṛhya occurring in the Saṁhitā are to be taken as pragṛhya in the reverse order or not. Ans. In some cases mentioned in the Prātiśākhya they are not to be taken as pragṛhya. Here there is a difference of opinion in the three schools.

10. Whether the वेष्टन or addition of इति, seen in the case of pragṛhya words, compound words, words in the Vocative case and a few specific indeclinables, is to be observed in the case of the reverse recital or not. Ans. It is to be observed as stated in the Prātiśākhya. There is noticed a difference of opinion regarding this in the three schools.

As observed above, the jaṭā form of recital consisting of three members and having six words in all, is the basic one on which the other seven are based. The Śikhā recital is only a slight prolongation of the



Jaṭā, made by adding at the end, the following word as a mere crest e.g. अग्निमीडे ईडेग्निमग्निमीडे पुरोहितम् । ईडे पुरोहितं पुरोहितमीडे ईडे पुरोहितं होतारम् । पुरोहितं होतारं होतारं...पुरोहितं पुरोहितं होतारं यज्ञस्य । पुरोहितमिति पुरःसहितम् । The घन form is a further extension of the jaṭā and śikhā forms, made by repeating the three words at the end of the Śikhā in the reverse order and then in the right one. For example अग्निमीडे ईडेग्निमग्निमीडे पुरोहितं पुरोहितमीडेग्निमग्निमीडे पुरोहितम् । ईडे पुरोहितं पुरोहितमीडे ईडे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य । यज्ञस्य पुरोहितमीडे ईडे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य । पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य यज्ञस्य पुरोहितं पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवम् । देवं यज्ञस्य पुरोहितं पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवम् । पुरोहितमिति पुरःसहितम् । यज्ञस्य देवं देवं यज्ञस्य यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् । The remaining five forms are more and more complicated as they require the foot of the verse or even half the verse for the formation of a unit. In the versified text of the R̥gveda half the Jagati verse or eight to ten words are required for the formation of a unit as against two in the jaṭā or three in the ghana. In the Yajurveda, taking the opening passage इषे त्वोजे त्वा... पशून् पाहि, if a unit requiring all the words in it, is to be prepared, 43 words will have to be taken for its arrangement in different pairs or triads of words. In short, the five forms of recital viz. माला, रेखा, ध्वज, दण्ड and रथ are very difficult to be formed and recited. This explains the reason of the fact that only the reciters of the jaṭā and ghana forms were available in large numbers formerly and are available now in a very small number.

The five forms माला, रेखा, ध्वज, दण्ड and रथ are given and illustrated in the Madhusūdanī Śikṣā. Very briefly to say, by taking half the verse अग्निमीडे...ऋत्विजम् and taking अग्निम्, ईडे, पुरोहितम्, यज्ञस्य, देवम् and ऋत्विजम् (six words) as a unit the 'mālā' form, named also क्रममाला, will be arranged in ten pairs—five in the regular order and five in the reverse order. The rekhā form is very much complicated as it requires krama of the first and second word, trikrama of the second, third and fourth and catuhkrama of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth for its formation. The dhvaja's form is equally complicated as it requires all the five pairs in the right and reverse orders. The 'ratha' and 'daṇḍa' are considerably complicated. In the ratha another half a verse, made up of equal number of pairs, is required for going on together.

It is evident from the observations made above that the eight recitals of the Veda texts, especially those of the R̥gveda hymns were current in the days of the original writers on them viz Vyādi, Hayagrīva and Madhusūdana i. e. roughly from the 6th century B. C to the 6th century A. D. As far as the available commentaries on the works of these three ancient writers are concerned, they appear to have been written during the last four or five centuries when the number of the reciters of these eight



forms had become considerably reduced and the explanation of the brief original texts of Vyādi, Hayagrīva and Madhusūdana had become necessary with comments and illustrations. As these illustrations were given by the Commentators from the Saṁhitā texts of their own branches of study, naturally minor differences arose regarding the reverse recital which is not looked upon as genuine and sacred one. Some of these differences are noticed above.

Regarding the recitals in the regular order, as also the mention of the original words in the padapāṭha in the reverse order obtaining in the eight recitals, there was no ground for differences and variations and to-day also, there is none. There were some scholars in the last century and at the beginning of the present century who could recite the whole text of the saṁhitā in the jaṭā and the ghana forms. They had also a tolerably good knowledge of the Sanskrit language, which enabled them to understand and use the manuals mentioned above as also to prepare short manuals for the sake of themselves and their pupils. They could also recite some select hymns in the other 6 forms of the recital. At present, however, the number of the jaṭā and ghana reciters is so much reduced that perhaps in the near future there will remain none who will be able to recite even some of the hymns in these forms.

There are some manuscripts of the Saṁhitā texts in the libraries of manuscripts as also in the possession of old Vedic families. There are manuscripts of the padapāṭha, but there is hardly any manuscript of the kramapāṭha. It has therefore become necessary not only to edit critically the manuscripts mentioned above dealing with the eight kinds of recital but to get, if possible, taperecords of them. There are many institutions, devoted to Vedic studies which can undertake this work of national importance. To preserve intact the Veda texts with the pada, the krama and other recitals is a supreme necessity and every effort in that direction, in his power, should be made by every student, lover or admirer of Veda. The writer of this paper has prepared the text of the manuals mentioned above, on the eight forms in a critical way, based upon a few available manuscripts and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute proposes to publish it.

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## PRĀTIŚĀKHYAS AND PADAPĀTHA (AVAGRAHA)

*Prof. K.L. SHARMA*

Prātiśākhyā is a branch of vedic studies which is closely connected with the problems of turning Saṁhitā pāṭha into Padapāṭha and vice versa. Where as other Prātiśākhya have engaged themselves in turning Saṁhitā Pāṭha from the Padapāṭha, Atharvaprātiśākhya<sup>1</sup> is the only prātiśākhya which forms Padapāṭha from the Saṁhitāpāṭha. Earlier writers on Prātiśākhya like Whitney<sup>2</sup> Keith<sup>3</sup> Maxmuller<sup>4</sup> and others were very much perturbed by the large number of discrepancies between the rules prescribed for turning Padapāṭha into Saṁhitā and the facts observed in large number of MSS of both the pada and the Saṁhitā. They did not realize that the rules prescribed in a particular Prātiśākhya operated not only on the texts available to them but also upon many other texts of different śākhās of that Veda. (Vpr) Vājasaneyā Prātiśākhya is said to be connected with all the fifteen Śākhās of Śukla Yajurveda<sup>5</sup>; that C.A. was dealing with the Śaunakiya Śākhā of the Atharvan and that the text available to them was not the Śaunakiya text; and that Taitt. Prāti (T.Pr) concerned itself with many branches of the Taittirīya school. It is quite possible that originally a separate Prātiśākhya was planned for each branch of the vedic Saṁhitās; but when many of these branches were superseded by one Main branch in each case, one Prātiśākhya took the responsibility of looking after the

1. Ed. S.K. Śāstri, Delhi :
2. Caturadhyāyikā, second ed. Varānasi, P252—253;
3. The Veda of the Black yajus school, Vol I, Intro P XXXIV; XXXVIII.
4. Ṛk. Prāti, Intro, Eng. Tr. I.H.Q. III, P 611-612;
5. Anantabhaṭṭa, in VPr, P. 2-5, Madras univ, ed;



interests of the other branches too and a consequent unity in the sphere of the *prātiśākhya* became discernible. This also explains the discrepancies, overlappings and repetitions in the texts of the present *Prātiśākhyas* which have been termed as 'interpolations' in the original texts of these treatises. Now that another *Prātiśākhya* of the *Atharva* *veda* has been discovered, it has become clear that the C.A., as the adjective 'Śaunakiya' shows, belongs to the Śaunakiya school. The new Apr. cites 3236 *Atharvanic* passages, out of which there are hardly ten passages, where the Vulgate MSS do not follow the rules prescribed in the Apr. while there are hundred of passages in the C.A. where "not a single Vulgate mss follows the sanction of this treatise"<sup>6</sup>. Overwhelming evidence has been adduced by the learned Editor of Apr<sup>7</sup>, to prove that the C.A. belongs to the Śaunakiya school and Apr. to some other branch. Apr. makes a reference to the Śaunakiya usage as apart from that of his own school. The word *तन्नः* is analysed in *Padapāṭha* as *तं । नः* according to his own school, but as *तत् । नः* according to the śaunakiya school.<sup>8</sup> This is confirmed by the evidence of the MSS. All the MSS of SPP read *तम्* in the *padapāṭha* while those of Whitney read *तत्*, Viśvabandhu's (v) edition reads *तं*<sup>9</sup>. Similarly Apr<sup>10</sup> reads *उपरिषन्ति*<sup>11</sup> (*पपा० उपऽरिषन्ति*) whereas C.A.<sup>12</sup> prescribes *उपरिषन्ति* for the śaunaka school (*पपा० उपऽऋषिन्ति*) which has been adopted by both Whitney and SSP (ssp has given '०रिषन्ति' as a variant from four mss) and Viśvabandhu. There is direct conflict between Apr. 148 and C.A. II. 65. C.A. prescribes *षत्व* in place of *विसर्जनीय* before *कृणोतु*, whereas Apr. negatives it. V. does not seem to have any definite view about this rule because in three examples given by the commentator of C.A. V. reads

6. *Surya kānta*, Intro. Apr. P32;

7. Intro. P33 ff;

8. *अकारान्तं पुंसि वचनम् । नपुंसकं तकारान्तं शौनके* (Apr. P.4)

9. (AV. 12-3-12);

10. 14 (35-36)

11. A.V. 9-8-14-15

12. 3-47;

13. A.V. 6-106-3;



अग्निःकृणोतु<sup>13</sup> दीर्घमायुःकृणोतु मे<sup>14</sup> and मणिःकृणोतु<sup>15</sup>. Not much care seems to have been bestowed on this vedāṅga in this latest edition of A.V. text. The commentary of Sāy. seems to have been written on the śaunakiya text as claimed by him<sup>16</sup>. How far has he conformed to the rules of C.A., will have to be investigated. Hence a thorough examination of the Atharvanic MSS is required to bring out the text which is in accordance with the rules of the A.pr. Fresh attempt should also be made to bring out the śaunakiya text which complies with the rules of the C.A.

There are many rules in the VPr which are concerned more with the Kāṇva text of the Śukla Yajurveda than that of the Mādhyandina so much so that Burnell propounded a theory that this Prātiśākhya originally belonged to the Kāṇva School (<sup>17</sup>). Most of the rules operate upon the Mādhyandina text whereas there are some which concern themselves with all other texts except that of the Mādhyandins<sup>18</sup>. There are still others which are meant for the Carakas only<sup>19</sup>; some are connected with the Vājasaneyins<sup>20</sup>, whereas some are operative on the Kāṇva text alone<sup>21</sup>. Some of these rules are not concerned with any known branch of this Veda<sup>22</sup> for which illustrations have been taken from outside the Vedic lore and are called rūpodāharaṇas.' T.Pr. also propounds certain rules for which illustrations are not available in the extant Saṃhitā<sup>23</sup>. The word 'विशाखे' has been declared प्रगृह्य (<sup>24</sup>), but it is not found in the T.S. The

14. A.V. 7-32-1;

15. A.V. 10-6-31

16. See Sūryakānta, Apr. Intro Section VI.

17. Aindra School, p. 86—87.

18. IV. 104 ; 146.

19. IV. 13.

20. V. 43.

21. III. 87; 91; V. 44.

22. III. 43 ; 47 ; IV. 9 ; 95; VI. 20—23.

23. ie स्तनुतः (T.Pr. 8.8) ; चर्षन् (T.Pr. 13.13) ; जिगीवा (TPr. 16.13) and जिघासि (TPr. 16.8) ;

24. TPr. 4.11 ;



Com. has postulated a wholly untenable view that the author meant to say 'सहस्रशाखे'. But at the same time we cannot accept the view of Whitney<sup>25</sup> and Keith<sup>26</sup> that such examples of the TPr. are either 'corruptions' or are the result of the 'confusion of memory'. These examples must be traced to some other branch which is not available to us.

Nirukta has described all the Prātiśākhya as 'पदप्रकृतीनि', a word variously interpreted<sup>27</sup>. But there can be no doubt that Pada is the first commentary on the Samhitā and the division of the Samhitā into Padas (पदविभाग) is meant for the proper understanding of the words, their accent and thereby the meaning of the mantras as uttered by the sages<sup>28</sup>. And for such elucidation, material must have been collected in various schools in the form of lists of similar words so that out of these similarities rules could be carved out which could govern their formation, accentuation, euphonic combinations, lengthening, nasalisation, cerebralisation and the like. This was in fact the very first beginning of the Prātiśākhya and we find long lists of similar words in the VPr, TPr and Apr. The original aim of the Prātiśākhya must have been to frame rules to create Padas out of the Samhitā because this was the प्रकृति of the Padas. ('पदप्रकृतिः संहिता' Nir I. 17).

Yāska not only knew the Pada text as we have it today but has actually named and criticised Śākalya, the Padakāra for his analysis of certain words i.e. मेहना<sup>29</sup>, मासकृत्<sup>30</sup>, and वायो<sup>31</sup>. It is strange in spite of these glaring examples H. Skold should have made such a remark as, "It does not imply that Yāska is in direct opposition to the Padakāra, for it can mean that he did not know the Pada-text at all" (32).

25. TPr. P. 426 ;

26. V.B.Y. School (Tr), Intro. P. XXXIII.

27. Nir I. 17 and Durga on it.

28. Apr. 3 (b) — 'ऋषिप्रोक्तमन्त्रादिशब्दस्वर ज्ञानार्थः पद विभागः'

29. RV. V. 39.1 ; Nir IV. 4 ;

30. R.V. I. 105. 18; Nir V. 21

31. R.V. X. 29.1 ; Nir. VI. 28 ;

32. The Nirukta, P. 98.



It is a convention with the Padakāras to elide from the Pada text words which are repeated in the Saṁhitās. These are called गलितपदानि and are treated according to certain definite norms laid down in the manuals of their respective schools<sup>33</sup>.

The analysis of the words into their component parts is an important function of Prātiśākyas for framing the Pada text, for without showing these parts separately their composition cannot be made clear. Hence the suggestion that avagraha could not form a part of the original Prātiśākhyā<sup>34</sup>, cannot be accepted<sup>35</sup>. It is no argument that because VPr declares 'स्वरसंस्कारयोश्छन्दसि नियमः' (I. 1) as its basis, it has no right to deal with avagraha. RPr. does not say anything about the topics to be dealt with, yet it deals with Krama text very elaborately<sup>36</sup>, while C.A. deals with it in hardly 17 Sūtras<sup>37</sup>, VPr in 16 Sūtrās<sup>38</sup>, and TPr does not deal with it at all. Should the portion dealing with Krama be declared an interpolation in the 'original' RPr? The basis of C.A. is brought out in these words—"Of the four kinds of words—viz. noun, verb, preposition and particle—the qualities exhibited in euphonic combination and in the state of disconnected vocables are here made the subject of treatment' (Whitney's Tr)<sup>38</sup>. The description and classification of the sound in this case will have to be scrapped as a later addition as it pertains neither to the 'qualities exhibited in euphonic combinations' nor to those in the 'state of disconnected vocables'<sup>39</sup>. Moreover, what is that 'original' Prātiśākhyā to which reference is made so often. If the classification of sounds and their description is essential to understand the 'euphonic combination' and the 'disconnection' of the vocables, the treatment of 'avagraha' is equally essential for the formation and understanding of the Padas. Any how, all the Prātiśākyas deal with the problem of avagraha in their own way. But a large number of rules for the division of words are common to almost all the

33. See गलित प्रदीप by लक्ष्मीधरसूरि, वाराणसी,

34. Sūryakānta, Apr, Intro, P. 25

35. See Whitney on C.A. I. 1 ;

36. Chapters X—XI,

37. C.A. IV. 110—126 ;

38. V.Pr. IV. 182—197 ;

39. C.A.I. 1 See Whitney. on C.A.I. 1



Prātiśākhya and the examples given by the commentators are in most cases the same. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Padapāṭha was planned and worked out originally by a single teacher<sup>40</sup> and emended and revised at certain places by the teachers of the various schools to suit the requirements of their own Saṁhitās. According to the tradition, the original planner of these treatises was 'Śākalya. A large number of teachers must have intervened between that teacher of the hoary past and the compilers of the present texts, as is clear from the large number of references to the old ācāryas of these schools.

As was to be expected, inspite of this close similarity of the treatment of the subject, there are certain discordant notes among the Prātiśākhya which require attention.

It has been said that certain words are indivisible because of their doubtful grammatical construction.

1. षोडशी is one such word<sup>41</sup>. But the construction of this word has been explained earlier<sup>42</sup> in the text itself as षट्+दश similarly

VPr.<sup>43</sup> includes it in the list of indivisible words along with षान्त which is not found in the saṁhitā<sup>44</sup> cf, also पुरोडाश (C.A.I. 63 ; V. Pr. III. 44). अनङ्वान् (VPr. V 37; cf. VPr. III 45)

2. पाङ्प्र, अनुद्प्र and अङ्प्र are indivisible due to doubtful formation and उत्तम्भनादि<sup>45</sup> due to the doubt regarding the beginning of the second component. Uvaṭa gives three examples उत्तम्भनम्, उत्थाय and उत्थिताय, Uvaṭa raises the doubt whether in पाङ्प्र the formation is a combination of पङ्क्ति and त्रायति or that of पा and तनोति । Now C.A.<sup>46</sup>

40. Whitney on C.A.IV. 54.

41. 'षोडशी संदेहात् (C.A. IV. 51) ;

42. C.A.I. 63 ;

43. V. 47

44. VPr. V 34

45. Vpr. V 38

46. II. 20



prescribes the dropping of a non-nasal mute in between a nasal and a non-nasal; the com. gives these examples पाङ्त् छन्दः<sup>47</sup>, भङ्ग्धि<sup>48</sup> in place of पाङ्क्त्तम् and भङ्ग्धि; this rule applies to संहिता alone. The MSS of Samhitā text observe this rule with a few exceptions, and Whitney followed it in his edition. But it has not been followed in the V- edition which reads पाङ्क्त्तम् and भङ्ग्धि. So there is no doubt-here in C.A. Both the cases are similar. It is strange that there should be any doubt regarding उत्तम्भन etc. Was the Padakāra so ignorant of the grammar? I think he was not.

3. The words प्राणति and प्राणन्ति are indivisible<sup>49</sup>. The rule also covers other forms like प्राणतः<sup>50</sup> and प्राणते<sup>51</sup>. If however, the prefix is accented the word is divisible प्र । अनति<sup>52</sup>. Similarly we have अपानते<sup>53</sup> and अप । अनति<sup>54</sup>. Like C.A. Vpr. also does not divide प्राणः<sup>55</sup> But with regard to समान Vpr<sup>56</sup> has an exception. It is divisible in the Aśvamedha mantra only. समऽआनः<sup>57</sup> Elsewhere it is not divisible. Uvaṭa gives an example यमे समानः यमसमानः । But this quotation has not been traced in the V.S. Neither is there any reference in V. Padānukrama koṣa to any other text of the Yajurveda (śukla). Anantabhaṭṭa gives

47. A.V. 12-3-10

48. A.V. 10-3-13;

49. C.A. IV. 59;

50. A.V. 4-2-2;

51. A.V. 11-4-8;

52. A.V. 10-8-19;

53. A.V. 11-4-8

54. A.V. 11-4-14

55. Vpr. V.33;

56. Vpr V. 36;

57. V.S. 22-33



another reference ये समानाः .<sup>(58)</sup> Atharva Veda, however, divides it as सम्सानम्<sup>59</sup>. It is noteworthy that it divides प्राण (Voc) as प्र । अन<sup>60</sup> but has प्राणम् and विसानम् in the same hymn. The restriction of divisibility even in Vpr. is in the case of प्रश्लिष्ट सन्धि. Otherwise we have प्रायणाय प्र । अयनाय<sup>61</sup>. But what is the difference between the two words divisible and indivisible समान ? This is not clear. Neither is the difference between समान and व्यान ।

4. A member which has suffered Vṛddhi and is monosyllabic and ends in a vowel is not separable<sup>62</sup>, as सापत्नः<sup>63</sup> सौमनसः<sup>64</sup> but this word is अवगृह्य in Tpr. P. pāṭha-cf V.pr. V. 29

5. A monosyllabic member ending in *a* or *ā* and having a negative particle attached is not अवगृह्य<sup>65</sup> Viz अरक्षसा; अनातताय; According to Uvata the rule applies to the cases of प्रतिषेध and not to the cases of पर्युदास. Thus we have अनिशितः । The fact is that if the word negated is already a compound, the negative prefix does not affect the previous division of the compound. In Sāmaveda, however, the negative compounds are separable. V. pr. does not insist on the monosyllabic element of Apr.

6. Nor is a division made in any case where a 's' is inserted, except

58. V.S. 19-45. This reference also has not been noted in V. Padān.

59. A.V. 10-2-13 C.A. IV. 39

60. A.V. 3-31-9;

61. V.S. 22-7

62. C.A. IV. 55;

63. A.V. 2-7-2;

64. A.V. 3-30-7;

65. C.A. IV. 56 Vpr, V. 24,25 ;



in *tuviṣṭama*<sup>66</sup> as in *तस्करः*<sup>67</sup> *वनस्पतिः*<sup>68</sup> and *बृहस्पतिः*<sup>69</sup>. Now *Vpr*<sup>70</sup>. accepts the insertion of *s* in *बृहस्पतिः* but derives it as *बृहत्-पतिः* and *तस्करः* as *तत् करः*<sup>(71)</sup>, both being based on misunderstanding.<sup>(72)</sup> According to Whitney *बृहस्पति* is a compound of *पति* with the preceding genitive of an obsolete noun, being analogous with *ब्रह्मणस्पतिः* *वाचस्पतिः* and *शुभस्पतिः*<sup>(73)</sup>. But this view must be rejected as untenable. *बृहस्पतिः* and *वाचस्पतिः* can not be equated because of the difference in their accent. Had *बृहः* in *बृहस्पतिः* been the gen.sg. of *बृह* it should have been *antodātta* according to 'सावेकाचः'-<sup>74</sup> like *वाचः*. We must postulate *बृहस्* as an independent word with the suffix *कमुन्* to be added to the *uṇādis*. Similarly is the case with *Vanaspati* [see *Vpr*. III. 50] *rathaspati* and *ṛtaspati* [see *Vpr*. III.51] where we have the words *वनस्*, *रथस्* and *ऋतस्*. In the case of the stem *van* "tree", the original consonantal stem is clearly perceptible in *vanāni* [gen. pl] and *van-su* [loc.pl]. Another stem *in-ar* appears in *vanarṣad* [see *Vpr*. III 49] and *vanargu* and perhaps in the nominal derivative *Vānara*<sup>75</sup>. *Śubhaspati*<sup>76</sup> is similar to *vanaspati*. But the former has been separated<sup>(77)</sup>

66. C.A. IV. 59

67. Av. 4-3-2:

68. Av. 4-3-1;

69. Av. 2-13-2;

70 III. 50;

71 III.52;

72. cf. वा० on P. VI.1-159—'तद्बृहतोः करपत्योः०' ;

73. on C.A. IV. 59; see also Macdonell, Vedic Gr. P.168-169, Para 280;

74. पा० IV. 1-165;

75. Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Linguistic Intro. to Sans, P-123; cf *ahan*, *ahar* and *अहस्* (अहस्करः)

76. Macdonell, vedic Gr, op. cit, reads *śubhaspati*, which should be corrected,

77. R.V. I-3-1;



while the latter has been declared anavagṛhya.<sup>78</sup> If we accept the āgama of *s* or *r* in these words we should not have avagraha even in ऋतस्पते (ऋत, *s* पते) and अवरस्पराय (अवरस्पराय) and वनर्षदः (वन *s* सदः) on the same ground as in वनस्पतिः.<sup>79</sup> Why such distinction is made in the words of similar formation, is not clear.

The words denoting proper names are inseparable<sup>80</sup>. The rule is all pervading without any specification. Examples given are विश्वामित्रः, अश्वत्थः, न्यग्रोधः. But seeing a large number of exceptions the commentator, hastens to remark 'बहुलमिति च वक्तव्यम्' । In the same line of the Padapāṭha we have proper names which are separable and others which are not separable, i.e. विश्वामित्रम् and भरद्वाजम्<sup>81</sup> । पराशर (पराशर)<sup>82</sup> जमदग्ने and वामदेव<sup>83</sup> have been separated.

(8) Indeclinables are not separable<sup>84</sup>.

But many of them are separated in the Padapāṭha :—

अस्तमीके > अस्तम्ई के<sup>85</sup>

पत्सुतः > पत्सुतः (R. V. VIII 43.6) but पत्सुतः (मै० सं० II. 137)

—था is separated when combined with a polysyllable<sup>86</sup>. The rule is

78. Vpr V. 37;

79. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka, Vaidikasvara mīmāṃsā, II ed P 104-107; cf Uvaṭa on Vpr V, 45 :

80. C.A. IV-67

81. Av. 4. 29. 5;

82. Av. 6. 65. 1;

83. Av. 18, 3, 16;

84. CA. IV 71;

85. Rv. I, 129, 1;

86. C.A. IV 15;



too wide for the actual examples, which have been specified in VPr,<sup>87</sup> as पुत्रsथा, पूर्वsथा, विश्वsथा, ईमsथा, and ऋतुsथा ।

—घा is separated when it is a तद्धित suffix<sup>88</sup>. The examples given are अष्टsघा, द्वादशsघा. In the Ātharvāṇa text there is only one exception to this rule— विश्वघा<sup>89</sup> which goes unnoticed in both the Prātiśākhya and the commentary. VPr<sup>90</sup> on the other hand totally prohibits avagraha when the suffix —घा is preceded by any numeral, i.e, अष्टघा, but in बहिर्घा we have avagraha बहिःsघा. Rv. Padapāṭha reads बहुघा against Ātharvāṇa बहुsघा: but there is no avagraha in पुरुघा both in the Rv and Av<sup>91</sup>.

The Com. on C. A. (IV, 13) overshoots the marks when it says— 'व्यत्ययस्वश्चद्वादीर्घेभ्यो घा प्रत्यये नावग्रहो भवति, as the rule under comment relates to the suffix—घा of तद्धित category and not that of कृत् । Apart from स्वघा and गोघा<sup>92</sup> it declaresश्चद्वा as anavagrhyā. The suggestion<sup>93</sup> that श्रद्धा has not been analysed in PP because of the difficulty of showing the second element-घा, of the word in PP, can not be accepted. If the second element of अपसघा could be shown why could it not be shown in श्रद्धा, especially when Yāska has 'with a brilliant etymological insight', shown it to be divisible— 'श्रद्धा श्रद्धानात् ? Perhaps Padakāra could not anticipate such an analysis. But in R. V. itself we have the formation of the word given in the phrase 'श्रदस्मै घत्त' Hence there is no difficulty on that count. The only explanation is that it has come to be regarded as a proper name like ककुभ etc.

(9) Those words in which a portion of the prepositions has been elided, are not anavagrhyā<sup>94</sup>.

87. V Pr. V 12;

88. C.A. IV 13;

89. Av. 6, 85, 3; Rv. I. 141. 6;

90. V 27;

91. Rv I. 122.2; Av. 7, 5. 5,

92. See VPr V. 37;

93. S. Varma, 'Etymologies', P,175;

94. Nir IX 30; Rv. II 12.5;



- ( i ) उगणाभ्यः <sup>95</sup> = उद्गणाभ्यः (उवट); सुगणाभ्यः (महाभाष्य पा० VI, 1, 9)  
and उरुगणाभ्यः as suggested by आचार्य विश्ववन्धु । This last can  
not be accepted as उरु is not an upasarga.

- ( i i ) इष्कृतिः <sup>96</sup> = निष्कृतिः (उवट)

We have both the forms used in the same hemistich—‘इष्कृतिर्नाम  
वो माता यूयं स्थ निष्कृतीः इष्कृणुध्वम् निष्कृणुध्वम्’ <sup>97</sup>

- (iii) In ऊवध्यम् <sup>98</sup>, उखे and उदरम् the last letter of the preposition is  
supposed to have been dropped. The real forms are not given  
by the commentators of the Prātiśākhya,

(10) The suffixes—*tara* and—*tama* are avagṛhya without any condition  
according to C. A. <sup>99</sup> —मधुस्तरः <sup>100</sup>, उत्तमः <sup>101</sup>, भगवत्स्तमः <sup>102</sup>. But  
while उत्तम is always separated in the Ātharvaṇa Padapāṭha, उत्तर is  
sometimes separated, some times not. It is the VPr. <sup>103</sup> which lays  
down a condition that तर and तम are not separable from a word which  
means ‘north’ i.e. उत्तरम्. This condition is adhered to in the A. V. but  
has not been noted in the Prātiśākhya, perhaps due to its being a proper  
name.

94. V Pr. V 42;

95. V. S XVI 24-

96. V. S. XII 83; R. V. X 97.9; आप. श्रौ. सू 16.18.2 has a variant  
निष्कृतिः;

97. R v. X. 53.7;

98. V, S, XIX 84; R, V, I 162,10; cf also दूणाशम् (दुःसाशम्) R. V, I. 176  
3; VPr III 43 दूङ्गमम् (दुःसदमम्) R, V, I 15,6;

99. IV, 16;

100. A. V. 1.34.4;

101. A. V. VI 39.3;

102. A. V. 2. 9. 2 A, V, 13. 5. 5; 4, 22. 6; 5. 28.10 etc.

103. V Pr, V, 2



(11) The prefixes *Sam* and *Pari* are not separable from the root 'kar' if a sibilant intervenes<sup>104</sup>. संस्कृतम्<sup>105</sup>, परिष्कृता<sup>106</sup>. But the word परिष्कृत is separable in V. S.<sup>108</sup>

(12) There are certain words which are declared as indivisible in V.Pr<sup>109</sup> but are divided in Av. They are उपस्ति (उपस्ति)<sup>110</sup>, संवत्सर : (सम्-वत्सरः)<sup>111</sup> and पवीरवत् (पवीरवत्)<sup>112</sup>. At the same time there are words which are apparently wrongly divided in the Av. such as अनङ्गुरे.<sup>113</sup> अनपङ्चताम्<sup>114</sup>, अनपस्यताम्, गोऽपनम्<sup>115</sup>, शम्ऽओपय<sup>116</sup> हृद्योतः<sup>117</sup> (तन)<sup>118</sup> and the like. We cannot account for such avagrahas.

(13) C. A<sup>119</sup> prescribes that a word which shows a long vowel before an initial consonant of the latter member of a compound cannot be

105. C. A. IV. 58;

106. Av. 11.1.35;

107. Av. 9.3.10;

108. VI. 28. 4;

109. see Vpr V 43 and III 53;

110. V. 37;

111. Av. 3-5-6;

112. V pr. V 32; Av. 3-10-9; संवत्सर is anavagrhya in Rv also,

113. Av. 3-17-3; cf vpr, V 37,

114. Av. 8-6-22;

115. Av. 4-17-6;

116. 12-4-10,

117. 1-14-3,

118. 1-22-1;

119. 5-20-12;

120. V 50 cf vpr. V 28 ;



divided i.e. इष्टापूर्तौ<sup>120</sup>, द्यावापृथिवी<sup>121</sup> सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ<sup>122</sup>, and प्राणापानौ<sup>123</sup>. This last compound has been left undivided due to the misunderstanding of the compound as प्राणा-पानौ which seems very strange. Vpr. in a coresponding sūtra covers both the Devatādvandva compound<sup>124</sup> as well as the scope of the present sūtra<sup>125</sup> with the only condition that the first member ends in a vowel i.e. मित्रावरुणौ अग्नीषोमयोः In Sāmaveda even Dvandva compounds are separable.

[14] There is a large number of words which are listed as anavagrhya in C.A.<sup>126</sup>, Vpr<sup>127</sup>, and Av pr.<sup>128</sup> Whereas Vpr and Avpr have enlisted actual words which are inseparable. C.A. has indicated them by referring to the समुप्रादिगण which is left for the commentators to explain and elucidate. These lists are incomplete and redundant.

Some of these words are compounds with an irregular prolongation of the final vowel of the first member. अपामार्ग is one such word which is indivisible in Av<sup>129</sup> but is divisible in Vs<sup>130</sup>. उभयादत्<sup>131</sup> is another.

120. Av. 2-12-4;

121. Av. 2-1-4;

122. Av. 6-28-3;

123. Av, 2-16-1;

124-. cf C. A. IV. 49

125. V. Pr V 28;

126. IV 54;

127. V 37;

128. Av pr 217; C. A IV 54; V Pr, V 37;

129. 4-17-6; 8; etc.

130. V. S. 35.11; V Pr. V 21 ;

131. Av 5-31-3; Rv X. 90-10; V. S. 31-8; Vpr V 21;



नाराशंस<sup>132</sup>, प्रावृत्<sup>133</sup>, नीहार<sup>131</sup>, सूनृता<sup>135</sup>, कक्षीवत्<sup>136</sup> हृदयाविध् Av 8-6-18; cf C. A. 4-6

Some of these can be easily explained. कक्षीवत्, अपामार्ग, नराशंस, and नीहार are proper names; the formation of सूनृता is uncertain ; in प्रावृत् there is double compound प्र+आ+वृत् and it is the policy of the padapātha to separate only one of them. There are other words of the nature of *aluk* compounds which have been declared inseparable ie अन्येद्युः<sup>137</sup>, गविष्ठिर<sup>132</sup>, नरिष्टा<sup>139</sup> etc, गविष्ठिर is the name of a ṛṣi and नरिष्टा has been taken as an irregular negative compound. There are other words whose derivation is quite certain and not the appellatives, yet they are not divided i.e. अवष्टर<sup>140</sup>, आघृणि<sup>141</sup>, आघी<sup>142</sup>, गौपीथ<sup>843</sup>, दायद<sup>144</sup>. The word

132. Av. 5-27-3; Rv X 92-11; V. S. 20-37; V pr V 37;

133. Āv 12-5-2; Rv X 82-7; V. s. 17-21; V pr V 37 cf, (प्राविता प्रअविता Rv. I. 12-8

134. Av 6-113-2; V. S, 25-9: V pr V 37;

135. Av. 3-20-3

136. Av. 4-29-5; Rv X 61 16; V. S. 3-28; Vpr V 37

137. Av.I-25-4 : cf C.A. IV 21;

138. Av. 4-29-5: R. V. X. 150-5; V.S. 15-25; V pr V37; Similary मातरिष्वन् is the name of वायु;

139. Av. 7-13-2;

140. Av. 8-8-22; of CA IV 16 and Whitney's note on it;

141. Av. 7-9-2 R. V. XI 55-1; Yāska takes it to be a separable compound Nir.V. 9); see also Sāyaṇa on it;

142. Av 6-131-1; divided as आसघी in Rv V. 95-13;

143 Av-5-9-7; divided as गोपीथाय Rv. I-19-1];

144, Av. 5-18-6; cf भानु on अमर. दायमादत्ते



स्वपतिम्<sup>145</sup>, has not been divided because it is not a compound but an irregular formation (fem. acc. sing) of a participle in अत् । We have avagraha in स्वऽपतिः at Av. 20.94.<sup>146</sup>

Some other compounds and derivatives have been listed by Whitney which have not been divided. Some of them may be considered here:—

अकूपार<sup>147</sup>—Yāska<sup>148</sup> has analysed as अकुपरणः “having no small ending”; similarly Sāyaṇa renders it as ‘one whose end is not mean’—‘अकुत्सितः पारो यस्य’; P. W.; G. W; analyse it as अस्कूपार, ‘unbounded’. If it is a negative compand, it need not be divided according to Vpr<sup>142</sup>.

अजगर<sup>150</sup>—is not analysed due to its uncertain formation

कुचर<sup>151</sup>—is also of uncertain formation<sup>152</sup>

अनङ्वाह<sup>153</sup> has been declared unanalysable though its formation was known.<sup>154</sup>

प्राणद<sup>155</sup>—There is no uncertainty about its derivation, still it has not been analysed due to the reason best known to the authors.

145. Av. 8-6-16;

146. See Whitney, C. A. P. 211

147. Av. 5-17-1; Rv V 39-2;

148. Nir IV, 8;

149. V. 21 ‘प्रतिषेधे नावग्रहः’

150. Av 4-15-7; also Vrp V 37;

151. R. v. I 54-2; Av. 7-7-2

152. see Vaidika Padānukramanikā, P. 1124. n.b;

153. Av. 3-11-5; Vpr. V 37;

154. Vpr III 45;

155. Av. 4-35-5;



उपस्ति —has been declared as unanalysable in Vpr<sup>156</sup>, but it has been analysed in AV<sup>157</sup>

संवत्सर—is analysed in Av 3-10-9, but it has been left undivided in R.v. <sup>158</sup> and V. s.<sup>159</sup> the reason is not clear.

गोपा is not analysed in the Av and Rv, but कुलपा has been analysed as कुलऽपा <sup>160</sup> though the derivation is similar.

स्वस्ति<sup>161</sup> has not been analysed anywhere except S.V. Padapāṭha where it has been divided as सुऽस्ति । Yāska has also analysed it in the same way,<sup>162</sup>

There is a list of primary derivative compounds with two prepositions in the Av.pr.<sup>163</sup> where there is an avagraha between the primary derivative. the preposition immediately preceding it but the first preposition is completely disjoined from the word if it is used without significance or to set forth the object as connected with something else.

विनियोजनम्

- वि निऽयोजनम्<sup>164</sup>

निदुःखमण्यः

- निः । दुः स अर्मण्यः<sup>165</sup>

156. V 37;

157. 3-5-6;

158. R. v. X 190-2;

159. XIV. 29 etc. cf also Vpr V 32.

160. Av. 1. 14. 3:

161. Av. 7.29.1; R.V. III, 38.9; V.S. 3,10;

162. Nir III, 21;

163. P. 9;

164. Av. 7.78.1;

165. Av. 16.2.1;



अभिप्रसर्पतः

अभि । प्र s सर्पतः<sup>166</sup>

प्रानुध्याः

- प्रा । अनुध्याः<sup>167</sup>

अनुप्रवाच्यम्

- अनु । प्र s वाच्यम्<sup>168</sup>

Similarly we have अभिसञ्चरेण्यम् in Rv, <sup>169</sup> which has been separated as अभि । सम् सचरेण्यम् but Yāska and other authorities have taken it as one indivisible word. To which of the three categories of words the preposition अभि belongs in this case? we do not know. Similarly we have आनिधातोः -आ । निधातोः<sup>170</sup> Yāska<sup>171</sup> takes आ as a preposition but it is not clear whether he took it in the adnominal sense or not. Sāyaṇa and Skanda do take it in that sense.

The following words have not been analysed though neither derivatives are obscure nor it is impossible to show them in the pp, दिविष्टि<sup>172</sup> (cf गविष्टि -गो s इष्टि)<sup>173</sup> परीचक्ष्यम्<sup>174</sup> प्रस्कण्व<sup>175</sup> वाताण्यम्<sup>176</sup>

166. Av. 8.6.22;

167. Av. 7.114.2;

168. Av. 6. 105. 1;

169. I,

170. 1;

170. R.V. I. 41.9;

171. Nir. III. 16;

172. Rv. VIII. 4.19;

173. R.V.I. 36.8;

174. Rv. VII, 100,6;

175. R.V.I. 45.3;

analysed by GW, as प्रस्कण्व । cf हरिश्चन्द्र हरिश्चन्द्रः [Rv. IX, 66.16]. If हरिश्चन्द्र could be analysed surely प्रस्कण्व; could also be analysed see S, Varma Etymologies P 170;

176. Rv. I 121. 8;



विवस्वतः taken by Yāska Nir, VII, 26 as separable compound). There are some words whose form is difficult to show in the padapāṭha i.e. दुरोणे R.V. V.4.5, द्रविणसः (Rv. V. 15.7); प्रमगन्द (R,v, III, 53,14) विष्पतिः (R.V.I, 164 1.), (analysed as विष् स पतिः by RW, GW, but it is not possible to show it in the pp as पदान्त 'श्', will at once change to ट्,

Thus there are several problems connected with the Avagraha in the pp, which await satisfactory solutions at the hands of competent researchers. Let us hope some light will be thrown on these in the near future.



## TERNARY STRUCTURES IN THE UPANIṢAD

*Prof. Jean Naudou, France*

The researches of Mr. Dumézil, Professor at the College de France, on what he calls the "three functions" are very well known in Europe through many articles and books published since 1938. But, owing to the fact that all these publications are written in French, it is most probable that they are less popular in India. So, I must begin by reminding you some of the results obtained by Mr. Georges Dumézil.

Mr. Dumézil's Works are concerned with comparative mythology. He endeavoured to prove a connection between the social structures and the "fuctions" of the some gods of the Indo-European peoples : Vedic and Iranian, Germanic, Celtic and Roman. But this is a conference of Sanskrit studies, and as my philological competence is not as wide as Mr. Dumézil's, I shall limit to the Indian part of his works. However, Vedic texts, due to their antiquity and their richness, furnished decisive arguments for Mr. Dumézil's investigations.

One of the main documents brought forward by Mr. Dumézil was the well known treaty concluded in 1380 B.C. between the Hittite King Subbiluliuma and the King of Mitanni Matiwaša. This treaty is placed under the protection, among other divinities, of purely Vedic Gods : Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatya. For at that time, on this remote Mitanni located in Eastern Iran, close to the turkish boundaries, the leading class worshipped Vedic gods and also used some Sanskrit words. Mr. Dumézil established a relationship between those five Gods and the three first Varṇa of the Vedic Society, as they appear in the *Puruṣasukta* (Rg 10, 90). Mitra and Varuṇa are the "Sovereign gods" and the brahmans who represent them on earth have the same functions. Indra, to whom Mr. Dumézil afterwards associated Vāyu, is placed at the same level as the *Kṣatriya* class. Then, the two Aśvin protect the cattle and the fertility of land, the social charge of which is the task of the *vaiśya*.

So, the divine administration of the Universe splits into three functions :



- . first, juridic and sacerdotal sovereignty. with two aspects, supported by Mitra and Varuṇa,
- . secondly, the strength, particularly military strength.
- . thirdly, the prosperity and fecundity with various aspects, such as good health, longevity.

Later on, a Danish Scholar, Mr. Stig Wikander, who also attends this sanskrit sammelan suggested, an interpretation of the *Mahābhārata* starting from Mr. Dumézil's theories but that is out of my present purpose.

These theories of Mr. Dumézil intend to renew the interpretations of the Vedic Gods given previously. But, far from being incompatible with the old cosmological classification of the Vedic Gods, the "three functions" theory crosses it over. Yāska in his *Nirukta* classifies the Gods according to their abode (*sthāna*) : earthly, atmospheric, or celestial. This repartition of the cosmos in three levels was already known during the time of the *Chandas*, as it is proved by the numerous allusions, about a dozen, to Viṣṇu Trivikrama.

Now, the Gods who, according to Dumézil, are assuming the first function, Mitra and Varuṇa, are among the celestial Gods of Yāska, just as Dyaus, Surya and Saviṭr. Indra and Vāyu are of course atmospheric Gods. Pṛthivi and rivers belong to the earthly level. Only one important difference : the *aśvin*, protectors of the third function according to Dumézil, are classified as belonging to the celestial level by Yāska, but with some reticences, since these twin gods were admitted lately to the sacrifice of *soma*.

We may provisionally conclude that the three social functions have been placed in equipollence with the cosmological levels and that the feeling of this relationship has been perpetuated until the period of *nirukta* ; but some details of this complex system, elaborated at a pre-historic period, have been lost sight of.

Besides, some of the predecessors of Yāska acknowledged only three main Gods : Surya at the celestial level, Vāyu or Indra at the atmospheric level, and Agni at the earthly level. Hymn 158 of the Xth *mandala* of the *Rgveda* already invokes Surya, Vāta and Agni as protectors respectively of the heaven, of the atmosphere and of the earth. It is natural that the sun must be associated with sky, the wind with the atmosphere. As for Agni, he is always associated by the *Upaniṣad* with the earth. For instance, we read in the *Maitryupaniṣad* : "Namo 'gnaye pṛthivikṣite".



Let us briefly then examine successively the three different terms of the correspondance of the three functions, of the three cosmological levels, and of the three Gods representing the three main agents of Nature : Sun, Wind and Fire. As Mr. Dumezil has well shown, one of the essential parts of the Gods which he called "sovereign" is the protection of the order of the universe, the vedic *ṛta*, later on of the *dharma*. The sun as the cosmic metronome is one of the guarantors and one of the witnesses of this order. As a more general fact, the celestial bodies give by the ordinance of their movements the proof of their gigantic organization, of which human organization, social and juridic, is but another side.

The relationship between atmospheric Gods, the wind and the second function is even more satisfactory. Georges Dumezil proved that the essential characteristic of Indra and Vayu on the one hand, and warriors on the other is strength : the wind is considered as an essential source of energy of the cosmos.

With the earthly level are quite naturally associated the Gods protecting the fecundity and fertility, and also the social class who is in charge of supporting the economy of the whole social body, that is to say of the food. And the food belongs to fire : "agnir annādah", says *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, and that is true in three ways : the fire eats the food of the Gods, it cooks man's food, and an internal fire, *jāṭharāgni*, is responsible for the digestion.

As I have no time here to give more references, I will go on with the *Upaniṣad*. We encounter in these texts an endeavour to understand the universe, which is indeed one of scientific research, applied to the different realities : to the physical and meteorological world, to the ritual, to the society and finally to the human being as a physiologic, psychologic and social entity.

The authors of these texts knew the existence of three cosmologic levels, three main Gods, Surya, Vāyu, Agni, three *varṇa* in the āryan society, three divine functions, which could be referred to by the words *ṛta*, *bala*, *anna*, and these groups of three seem to be a law of the nature. They appear to be the concrete sign revealing some hidden relationships.

So, *Upaniṣads* are constantly referring to a ternary scheme used as an instrument of analysis. They apply this ternary scheme on different phenomena as to take their measurements, in an experimental way. For instance, the three priests of *agniṣṭoma* and the three *Samhita* used by them are in connection with the three levels of the universe. It is easy to despisingly speak of prescientific mentality and of mystic numbers.



But, the methods the scientists use nowadays are sometimes governed by the same state of mind.

Let us take an example: The American Professor Sheldon, about 30 years ago, made some important experiments in order to discover the components of human morphology and human temperament. He took measurements on photos of students, front, side and back views and submitted them to interviews and tests for purpose of psychological study. He gathered a considerable material, which he analysed by a mathematical method called factorial analysis and discovered, from the morphological point of view, three components, that he called ecto-, meso and endomorphic, and from the temperamental point of view three components, in correlation respectively with the three preceding ones, cerebotonic, somatotonic, and viscerotonic. The first of these last three refers to the intellect, the second one to the physical strength and the third one to the visceral functions.

But why three components ? Because Sheldon himself chose this number : it is an initial hypothesis, necessitated by the mathematical method he used. If it were nowadays Sheldon would employ a computer. But then, it would also be necessary to program the number of components to be obtained, and three seems to be a very reasonable choice.

It was inevitable that this ternary analysis was applied not only to the various natural phenomena but also to Nature as a whole. In the 6th *prapāṭhaka*, of the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, it is stated that *tejas*, *āpas* and *annam*, are three aspects, three forms, *rupa*, corresponding to heaven, atmosphere and earth. In the 4th *Khaṇḍa* of this *prapāṭhaka* it is shown that everything is threefold, *trivṛtam* : “Yad u rohitam ivābhūd iti, tejaso rūpam iti tad vidām cakruḥ ; yad u śuklam iva..., apām rupam iti...; yad u kṛṣṇam iva—; annasya rupam iti”. It has been noted long ago that we meet here an archaic form of the three *guṇa* of the classical Sāṃkhya system. The colours attributed to the three *guṇa*, white, red and black, are the same.

It reminds us of *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka*, X, 10, where it is said : “Near an eternal female, black, red and white, lies a male, also eternal, etc...”. And in *Atharva Veda* XII, 3 also are mentioned the three forms of Viṣṇu, bright (śukla), red and black.

So, the three *guṇa* of the Sāṃkhya system, called *rupa* in the *Upaniṣad*, have been discovered through an analysis of Nature by the way of the ternary principle. The explanation of the two first *guṇa* and the attribution of a colour for each one are perfectly clear. As for what is called *sattva* by its classical name, this luminous and pure principle



is normally related to the first function and to the celestial level. The word *śukla* means bright, pure, consequently applies to *sattva* and to the luminous sky (*dyaus*).

Also the *tejas* is placed on the second level, and the word can be translated either by "blazing" evocating the red color (*rohita*), or by "energy", characteristic of the *kṣatra*. At the classical period, it was replaced by the word *rajas* which is related to the root *rañj-*, meaning to colour, particularly in red, and to glow.

As for the correspondance between earth and *tamas*, "obscurity", it may be better understood if we consider that sky and earth are only limits, and that the upper world is beyond the sky, and the inferior world is beneath the surface of earth. That is perhaps an old state of the cosmology, which appears in the Avestic texts.

I summarize hereby the point we have reached : there exist three components of nature, characterized by three colours and I believe that these three *guṇa* and the three corresponding colours are not only linked to the levels of the cosmos, but also to Dumézil's functions. If I am right, they ought to be related also to the social classes.

A first indication is the name of these social classes. In India they are called *varṇa* and in Iran *pistra*, both meaning colours. But more than that, in Iran, colours are assigned to clothes of the social classes : white is reserved to priests, red to warriors, blue to cultivators. This is, I think, a remarkable confirmation, both of Dumézil's theories and my present hypothesis.



## PĀNINI'S GRAMMAR AND THE CONTEMPORARY LANGUAGE OF THE COMMON MAN

*Dipti Sharma*

The question of Sanskrit being the language of the masses has long been debated by scholars of ancient Indian literature and history and diametrically opposite views have been expressed on this point. Whereas a section of scholars is of the opinion that Sanskrit was used by all, another section is of the view that Sanskrit is an artificial language and was never at any time or place used as the medium of communication. In between these two extremes are the scholars who say that Sanskrit was the language of the Brahmins and the educated people, while others used Prākṛit side by side. Though not fully correct, this seems to be a more reasonable approach towards the question under consideration.

Scholars try to find for themselves reason enough to put forth the view that Sanskrit was never the spoken language, but a deeper insight into the literature and grammar leaves no doubt about the fact that Sanskrit was widely used by the people belonging to the region known as Āryāvarta. The sage Manu demarcates Āryāvarta as

आसमुद्रात्तु वै पूर्वात् आसमुद्रात्तु पश्चिमात् ।

तयोरेवान्तरं गिर्योरायावर्तं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

Manusmṛti ch 2/22

The evidence in Pāṇini's grammar is sufficient to uphold this view and we will try to analyse the question at hand in the light of his Sūtras.

Here we need not go into the controversy over Pāṇini's date, for, like most of the personalities in Sanskrit literature his date is still disputed and there is a wide range of four to five hundred years in which scholars try to locate him (some placing him in 800 B. C. and some in 400 B. C. or even later). Whatever be the date of Pāṇini, here we are concerned only with the view that Sanskrit was spoken by the masses in the period to which he belonged.



To Pāṇini the main source of his work was the living speech of himself and his contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> The style that he adopts for his grammar is in itself a pointer towards this fact. He has limited himself to putting the rules of grammar in as short a space as possible. This feature can be attributed to two facts, the first is that since Sanskrit was the spoken language Pāṇini did not have to go into the detail of explaining all the rules. This made his grammar small in volume and easily comprehensible. A person trying to judge the correctness of his speech could easily do so by referring to the small and compact Sūtras of Pāṇini. In the second place the style is attributed to the absence of a script which would have made more voluminous work difficult to comprehend. T. Burrow says that the brevity which the Sūtra style aimed at and achieved was due to the fact that all instruction was still oral and dependant on memory.<sup>2</sup> This does not seem probable, since Pāṇini himself has referred to a word meaning script e. g. यवनानी.<sup>3</sup> This internal evidence leaves us with the direct conclusion that Pāṇini wrote his grammar for the Sanskrit speaking people and not for those who would try to learn the language through the medium of grammar.

T. Burrow assumes that Pāṇini intended his grammar for the educated Brahmins<sup>4</sup> only, and not for the people in general. But he seems to have arrived at this conclusion rather hastily, for Pāṇini analyses not only the language of the educated class but also of those who lack in refinement of speech. Rules pertaining to the formation of words such as पुत्रादिनी<sup>5</sup> clearly show that Sanskrit was spoken at also the lower level of the society. No doubts can be raised as to the meaning of this word since the meaning has been indicated in the Sūtra itself. The use of the word आक्रोशे in the Sūtra makes it evident that it was used in an abusive sense.

Not only this, but words having the sense of denouncement, anger and disrespect when analysed by Pāṇini leave no doubt about the fact that Sanskrit was used in everyday life by all sections of the society.

1. Burrow, T.; The Sanskrit Language; p. p. 50

2. *ibid*; p. p. 46

3 Pāṇini; Aṣṭādhyāyī; 4. 1. 49, and the Vārtika on the Sūtra

4 Burrow, T.; The Sanskrit Language; p. p. 49

5 Pāṇini; Aṣṭādhyāyī; 8. 4. 48, and the Vārtika on the Sūtra



He seems careful enough in formulating rules, for even the most common of words have not escaped his sight. The Sutra खट्वा क्षेपे<sup>6</sup> makes it abundantly clear that the word खट्वा<sup>रूढः</sup> was used in a derogatory sense. Likewise words such as तीर्थध्वंक्षः<sup>7</sup> (a crow at the sacred bathing place i. e. a very greedy person; used when contempt is implied); पात्रेसमितः<sup>8</sup> (meaning a parasite); वैयाकरणखसूचिः<sup>9</sup> (a bad grammarian who does not know grammar but contemplates the heaven 'ख' when asked a question); याज्ञिककितवः (one who hankers after performing sacrifices for whom one ought not to perform sacrifice) etc. are indicators of the same fact.

Words occur in Pāṇini's grammar that cannot be explained save in the light of the fact that they were used in everyday life. In some cases he clearly gives the meaning of the word and the context in which it is used while in others the words are self-explanatory. In the Sutra प्रत्यभिवादेऽशूद्रे<sup>10</sup> he says that in answer to a salutation, save when it refers to a Sudra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes Pluta and gets the acute accent. The vārtika that has been added to this Sutra by Kātyāyana indicates that there was a deterioration in the status of women in his time and they were put at par with the Sudras, for, he says that in answering their salutation also the Pluta should not be used. Such changes can take place only in a living language used in day-to-day life and not in one that is limited to the educated and highbred classes and is used for religious and literary purposes only. After this rule Pāṇini has also given rules for calling people from far.<sup>11</sup>

The words अक्षपरि, शलाकापरि, एकपरि, etc. are compounds denoting loss in gambling, In fact the whole set of compounds formed on the

6. *ibid*; 2. 1. 26

7. *ibid*; 2. 1. 42

8. *ibid*; 2. 1. 48

9. *ibid*; 2. 1. 53

10. *ibid*; 8. 2. 83

11. *ibid*; 8. 2. 84 and 8. 2. 85

12. *ibid*; 2. 1. 10



basis of the rule अक्षशलाकासंख्यापरिणा<sup>12</sup> is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Likewise, the word अक्षशौण्डः<sup>13</sup> means skilled in dice and refers to gambling only. These and other words also relating to various games such as दाण्डा (a game played with sticks) cannot in any case be said to be limited to a particular class of people.

Words denoting defect in a limb (अङ्गविकार), parts of the body (शरीरावयव), or other such commonplace things go further to prove the point at hand. The Sūtra तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि च<sup>14</sup> speaks of a particular time of the day that has a significance for people who raise cattle. A special mention to this class of words not only points to the language of the then society but also to the social set up. The Sūtra परिवृतो रथः<sup>15</sup> which justifies the usage वास्त्रो रथः tells us that there used to be chariots surrounded on all sides by cloth. Moreover rules guiding the formation of words such as दध्योदनः,<sup>16</sup> गुडधानाः,<sup>17</sup> मासेदेयं णक्त्रम्,<sup>18</sup> गोमयम्<sup>19</sup> etc. would have little significance if these words were not used in everyday life. It is worth noting that special reference to words related to the cow has been made in various chapters. Some of the words thus formed are गव्यम् (milk; गोपयसोर्यत्), गोमयम् (cowdung; गोश्च पुरीषे), तिष्ठद्गु (the time for milking a cow) etc. that make the importance of the cow in the then society fully clear,

A close study of the Aṣṭādhyāyī makes it evident that different words were used in referring to various relations, for example, the brother of father was पितृव्यः while the brother of the mother was मातुलः; the parents of the father were known as पितामहः and पितामही while the parents of

13. ibid 2. 1. 70

14. ibid; 2. 1. 17

15. ibid; 4. 2. 19

16. ibid 2. 1. 34

17. ibid 2. 1. 35

18. ibid; 2. 1. 43

19. ibid; 4. 3. 145



the mother were मातामहः and मातामही<sup>20</sup>. Since these words could not be formed on the basis of other rules Pāṇini had to make a separate rule to justify their irregular formation. मातुः स्वसा,<sup>21</sup> मातु ष्वसा,<sup>22</sup> and मातृष्वसा<sup>23</sup> were used for mother's sister while the sister of the father was known as पितुः स्वसा पितुः ष्वसा, or पितृष्वसा । He takes care to give terms related to agriculture also. Thus there are the rules घान्यानां भवने क्षेत्रे खञ्<sup>24</sup> giving the formation of the words मौद्गीनम् कौद्रवीणम्, कौलत्वीनम् etc. व्रीहिशाल्योर्दक्<sup>25</sup> forming व्रैहेयम् शालेयम् and यवयवकषष्टिकाद्यत्<sup>26</sup> forming यव्यम्, यवक्यम् and षष्टीक्यम् . What other reason can be assigned to this trend other than that Sanskrit was spoken on a wide scale and Pāṇini had taken upon himself to write grammar that would justify the usages then in vogue.

Men belonging to different generations had different names. That is, besides the proper name of a person he had a name according to his generation also. This fact will be more clear if we see the Sūtras of Pāṇini himself. He refers to two types of अपत्य viz युवन् and गोत्र . गोत्रापत्य he describes as अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम्<sup>27</sup> that is a descendant being a grandson with reference to a person or a still lower offspring is called गोत्र. But when in a line of descent, beginning with a father and reckoning upwards is alive the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called युवन्<sup>28</sup> only. Thus the word युवन् will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the propositus with reference to whom the derivative is made. If गर्गः is at the head, his son

20. ibid; 4. 2. 36

21. ibid; 8. 2. 85

22. ibid; 8. 3. 85

23. ibid; 8. 3. 84

24. ibid; 5. 2. 1

25. ibid; 5. 2. 2

26. ibid; 5. 2. 3

27. ibid; 4. 1. 162

28. ibid; 4.1.163



(पुत्र) will be गर्गिः . Gargi's son will be known as गोत्र with reference to गर्गः and will be called गार्ग्यः . Now if गर्गः is alive the son of गार्ग्यः will be called युवन् and his name will be गार्ग्यायणः . Then again if the elder brother is alive the younger brother gets the title of युवन् being the descendant or a grand-son etc.<sup>29</sup> Even when a वंश्य like father etc. is not alive. Thus गार्ग्यायण is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother गार्ग्य . In the next Sutra Pāṇini tells us the rule of calling the descendant of the grandson etc. युवन् optionally when a superior सपिण्ड other than a brother is alive.<sup>30</sup> These minute differences in the name of a person speak of a state of society where much importance was attached to the family and generation of a person while naming him. Pāṇini has dealt with Patronymic affixes at great length. Put together in one place by Bhattoji Dikshita in Siddhānta Kaumudi in the chapter dealing with these affixes the number comes to a hundred and twenty-nine. It would make quite an interesting study of social history if one tried to reconstruct the social structure on the basis of this chapter.

In Pāṇini's time Sanskrit as the Laukika or current or popular speech had probably the same position among the Indo-Aryan dialects as Hindi or Hindustani at the present day.<sup>31</sup> The fact most obvious in the Aṣṭādhyāyī is that the Sanskrit spoken throughout the Āryāvarta was not the same, that is, local variations of words occurred and were also accepted in the standard language. For example, गार्ग्यायणी and वात्स्यायनी<sup>32</sup> were the forms used in the eastern region while गार्गी and वात्सी were used elsewhere. शोणी<sup>33</sup> was used in the east while in other places it was शोणा . द्विखारम् and अर्धखारम्<sup>34</sup> were the forms approved in the east while in other regions द्विखारि and अर्धखारि were accepted in common usage. The prevalence of Sanskrit as the spoken language

29. *ibid*; 4.1.164

30. *ibid*; 4.1.165

30a Chatterji, Suniti Kumar; Indo Aryan and Hindi; p.p. 64

31. *ibid*; 4.1.17

32. *ibid*; 4.1.43

33. *ibid*; 5.4.101

34. Panini; Aṣṭādhyāyī; 6.3.10



becomes all the more undisputed when we try to analyse certain Vrittis on Pāṇini's Sūtras. For example in his Vritti on the Sūtra कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ<sup>35</sup> Bhattoji Dikshit says प्राचां देशे यत्कारनाम् तत्र हलादावुत्तरपदे हलदन्तात् सप्तम्या अलुक् । मुकुटे-कार्णापणम् । दृषति माषकः । पूर्वेण सिद्धे नियमार्थम् । कारनाम्येव प्राचामेव हलादावेव इति । मुकुटे कार्णापणम्, दृषदि-माषकः are all names of taxes and would have retained the Locative ending even by the preceding rule. But the present rule makes a Niyama or restriction which is threefold, namely, (1) when it is the name of the tax, (2) when it belongs to the eastern people and no other people and (3) when the second member begins with a consonant. These are not the only instances, in fact there are at least a dozen more cases where an explicit reference to the east has been made.

Likewise, there are Sūtras that refer to special forms used in the North. मातरपितरौ is the form justified by Pāṇini's rule of compounds but it seems that people used मातरपितरौ in the North so he had to make an exception to his rule by saying मातरपितरावुदीचाम्.<sup>36</sup> That is to say that the form मातरपितरौ is also valid. In the chapter dealing with Patronymic affixes Pāṇini gives the rule for the formation of the word गौधेरः<sup>37</sup>, but next to this rule he gives another rule आरगुदीचाम्<sup>38</sup> to justify the form गौधारः. It seems that while गौधेरः was the form used in other regions people in the North used गौधारः. In order to justify their usage Pāṇini had to make a separate reference to this effect. The explicit mention of the word उदीचाम् leaves on doubt about the fact that गौधारः was a regional term. There are several other instances of the grammarian mentioning rules with direct reference to a particular region. The absence of the reference to the West or South leads to the conclusion that Sanskrit was not used to the West or South from the place to which Pāṇini belonged, and since he is said to belong to the North West Frontier of Greater India this hypothesis seems to be highly probable,

Historical evidence is also available in the Aṣṭādhyāyī in the Sūtras where Pāṇini refers to various Janapadas. He has named more

35. *ibid*; 6.3.32

36. *ibid*; 4.1.129

37. *ibid*; 4.1.130



than a dozen Janapadas, such as मद्र,<sup>39</sup> वाहीक,<sup>40</sup> उशीनर<sup>41</sup> etc. It seems that the difference between ग्राम, नगर and जनपद was recognised and they were accepted as three separate units, for in the Sutra no. 4-2-94 an explicit reference to ग्राम, in 4,2,128 to नगर and in 4,2,81 to जनपद has been made. Examples other than these can also be found. The Sutra द्वीपादनुसमुद्रम् यन्<sup>42</sup> tells us something of the then geographical condition. From it one can safely conclude that Sanskrit speaking people were spread to the coastal areas also, for यन् is added after the word द्वीप which is near the sea, thus the form द्वैप्यम् or द्वैप्या are used in the sense of living on or relating to an island.

Examples mentioned above and other such numerous instances leave little doubt about the fact that Sanskrit was spoken at large by the common man in India in the time of Pānini.

38. ibid; 4,2,108

39, ibid; 4,2,117

40, ibid; 4,2,118

41. ibid; 4. 3. 10



## DEFINITION OF UPASARGAS IN PĀNINI

(Mahavir, Shivaji College, Delhi University)

*Upasargāḥ kriyāyoge* (Aṣṭ. 1. 4. 59) is the Pāṇinian *sūtra* which defines the *upasargas*. Pāṇini enumerates the words *prādis* in the previous *sūtra* i. e. 1. 4. 58 by making a list of them and defines them as *upasargas* when *kriyā-yoga* is there.

The *sūtra* remains unintelligible unless one knows what *kriyāyoga* is.

The term is a compound form having *kriyā* and *yoga* as its constituents. According to the *pada-māñjarī* the components are related to each other through instrumental case which is either in the sense of *karaṇa* or *saha-yoga*. In the first case the *yoga* of *upasarga* with *kriyā* will be indirect while in the second case it will be direct.

First of all the question arises as to what *is kriyā*. Pāṇini nowhere defines this term though it is frequently used in the Pāṇinian system of grammar. The term is actually defined in the philosophical works and is familiarly known in that discipline. The term therefore, being of philosophic nature, might betray, if attempted upon, all the definitions of grammatical nature. Bhartṛhari in his *vākya-padīya*<sup>2</sup> tries to give it a linguistic touch while defining it as 'yāvat siddham asiddham Vā sādhyatvena vivakṣitaḥ'. But in the next line he is forced to resort to its philosophic aspect, i. e. 'āśrita-kramarupatvāt sā kṛtyabhidhīyate' for which the definition remains incomplete. Here the *krama* (succession) is intelligible only through inference. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* on Aṣṭ I. 3. 1. seems struggling to pick up some grammatical characters of *kriyā* while discussing it as 'what's the *kriyā*? The answer is *ihā* 'what is *ihā*? There is again question. The answer is '*ceṣṭā*'. What is '*ceṣṭā*'? The answer is '*vyāpāraḥ*'<sup>3</sup>. Offended by this replacement of one word by another and for not offering the concrete answer the *purva-pakṣi* bursts out in dissatisfaction 'You all the time substitute one word for another and do not refer to any substantial thing that this is the *kriyā*'. The author of the *Mahābhāṣya* failing in sticking to any grammatical criterion for it, ultimately resorts to the philosophics pecu-



lation that '*kriyā* is altogether invisible. It cannot be the subject of eye-perception.<sup>5</sup> Then he answers as to what is that inference.<sup>6</sup> The reply is that 'here in the presence of all conditions sometimes they say 'it cooks' and sometimes 'not'. In the presence of which condition they say it cooks that is *kriyā*. Or by means of which Devadatta gets himself from here to Pātaliputra, that is *kriyā*.<sup>7</sup> This is evident from it that Pāṇinian *kriyā* can be deciphered only on philosophic ground.

But the question is what would be the grammatical category of words representing the *kriyā*? That all of the *tīñantas* represent the *kṛyā* is indisputable. But there are some *subantas* (including *avyayas*) which represent *kṛyā*. This can be borne out from internal evidence; In Pāṇinian *sutras* '*tumunṇvulau kriyāyām kriyārthāyām* (Aṣṭ. III. 3. 10) the syntactical environment for occurrence of suffixes *tumun* and *ṇvul* is prescribed that where one *kriyā* occurs for the sake of the performance of the other *kriyā* the later will take the aforesaid suffixes. Accordingly in the construction *bhoktum vrajati* and *bhojakaḥ vrajati* as exemplified in the Kāśikā, each of them i. e. *bhoktum*, *bhojakaḥ* and *vrajati* are *kriyās*. On the basis of this we can discern as *kriyā* certain other *subantas* also. The construction *bhoktum vrajati* can be replaced by other construction linguistically parallel to the former, i. e. *bhoktum gataḥ* or *gataṇ* and *bhuktvā gataḥ* etc. which occur in the same linguistic environment. Apparently the expressions *bhuktvā*, *gataḥ* and *gataṇ* replace the *kriyā* coinciding with the same linguistic structure. They also, therefore, belong to the same category of the word which they replace and that is *kriyā*. Pāṇini therefore, does not assume *kriyā* in the grammatical terms.

*Yoga* is very simple term here meaning relation. But what is *kriyā-yoga* is a tedious task to decide upon, though it seems to be very simple. *kriyā-yoga* is possible to be interpreted in following ways :—

- I. Physical affinity of both may be meant.
- II. It can be a semantical relation of both
- III. Their syntactical relation may be desired.

No commentary comes to our help here. Commentators simply tell its literary meaning and keep completely quiet as to what exact type of relation is desirable here. We have to decide it on the basis of internal and external evidences.

Mere physical affinity of *prādi* and *kriyā* does not cut the ice. For their physical occurrence in the sentence Pāṇini formulating the *sutras* '*te prāg dhātoḥ* (Aṣṭ. I. 4. 80) and so forth. Pāṇinian *sūtra*



'vyavahitaśca' (Aṣṭ. I. 4.82) is much more important in this regard. The *sūtra* says *upasargas* maintaining their basic character i. e. *kriyā-yoga* occur in the *vedas* even if physically interrupted by other words. Chief commentaries like *Siddhānta Kaumudī* and *Kāśikā* miss this point to clarify here though *kāśikā* comments on previous *sūtra* that '*kevalam para-prayoge*' *pi kriyā-yoga eṣām astīti jñāpyate.*' Physical affinity, therefore, would not do.

Kaiyaṭa holds the second view as he says "*Yogas-cārtha-lakṣaṇaḥ*<sup>8</sup>. *Sabdendu-śekhāra*<sup>9</sup> also seems to be advocating for this view while explaining this *sūtra* as '*Yoga-grahaṇam yadharthe prādinām anvayastān pratyevopasargatvādityārtha-bodhanāya*, i. e. the term *yoga* is meant for expressing the sense that *pra* etc. are *upasargas* to whose sense they are related. If so, the explanation cannot be appreciated for the following reasons.

Firstly Pāṇinian *sūtra* is *kriyā-yoga* and not '*Kriyārth-yoge.*' For the absence of the term '*artha*' one should not construe it that way until and unless other explanation is not available. Had he meant the semantical relation of both he would have inserted the term '*artha*' as he does elsewhere in such cases, e.g. *prātipadikārtha*—(Aṣṭ. II.3.46) *cārthe dvandvah* (Aṣṭ. II. 2.29), *anekam anyapadārthe* (Aṣṭ. II. 2.24) etc.

Secondly semantical *yoga* of *prādi* and *kriyā* cannot be determined. Because sometimes it is a total change of meaning as it is in the words like *āhara*, *prahāra* etc. Sometimes it is confinement of the same action in a particular way as for example in *gacchati* and *āgacchati* where both the verbs express the same action only with the difference of hitherto and thitherto directions<sup>11</sup>. And sometimes the *upasargas* are *nirarthakas* (meaningless) as in the expressions *kutah pratyāgacchati*, '*kuto*' *dhyāga-cchati*<sup>12</sup> where no semantical *yoga* is possible in absence of the meaning of *prati* and *adhi*. Pāṇini, therefore, seems to be very wise here for not using the term *artha*.

Now we come to the third explanation. The *sūtra* '*vyavahitaśca*' again may be referred to, which suggests the positive side for the solution of the problem. In spite of the interruption in between *upasarga* and *kriyā* there can be any relation, except the above-mentioned ones, as the *sūtra* says, that is only possible of syntactical construction. It is the syntactical structure which co-relates the words through their grammatical property occurring at different places in the sentence; *kriyayoga* implies this type of relation of *upasarga* and *kriyā*. The *upasargas* are grammatically related to *kriyās* and have their grammatical impact on them whether then are physically put along with the latter or not.



Let us take for instance, two sentences, *grāman gacchati* and *grāmād dgacchati*. The sentences are otherwise equal only with the difference that one is without *upasarga* while the other contains it. But the difference in the structure of both the sentences is obvious. One is in the objective case while the other in the desertive case. Grammatically only *ā* is responsible for this difference which is introduced by the *kriyā* as a whole; 'ā' therefore, is syntactically related to *kriyā*.

But the problem still sticks to survive and comes to the crux in the following Pāṇinian *sūtras* :—

1. *ātaścopasarge* (Aṣṭ. III. 136)
2. *upasargācchandasi dhātvarthe* (Aṣṭ. V. 1.118)
3. *upasargād adhvanah* (Aṣṭ. V. 4.85)
4. *upasargācca* (Aṣṭ. V. 4. 119)
5. *upasargād svāṅgam dhruvam aparśu* (Aṣṭ. VI. 2. 177)
6. *upasargād asamāse pi ṇopadeśasya* (Aṣṭ. VIII. 4. 14)
7. *upasargād bahulam* (Aṣṭ. VIII. 4. 28)

In the first *sūtra* Pāṇini rules *ka* suffix for the words like *suglah*, *sumlah* etc; in the second suffix *vati* for the words like *udvataḥ*, *nivataḥ* etc; in the third the *ac* suffix for the words like *prādhvam*, *niradhvam* etc., in the fifth the accent on final vowel in the words like *prapṛṣṭhaḥ* etc. in the sixth the cerebralisation in words like *pra-ṇāyakah* etc. and in the seventh the same cerebralisation in *praṇasah*, *praṇah* etc. In all the words quoted above as given in the *kāśikā* and *siddhānta-kaumudī* as examples to the respective *sūtras* mentioned above, the first morpheme i. e. *pra*, *nir*, *su* etc., belong to *prādi-gaṇa* but obviously they do not seem to be related to *kriyās*. How then are they considered as *upasargas* and treated as such. This makes B. Faddagon to say the *sūtra* 1. 4. 59 as "ambiguity of the definition of *upasarga* <sup>13</sup>."

As it is obvious all of the words in question are compound forms. The Pāṇinian *sūtra* enjoining the compounding of these words is *ku-gati-prāddayah* II. 2. 8. "The word *ku*, *gatis* and *prādis* are compounded with the word with which they bear the syntactical relation and the compound so formed is called *tatpuruṣa*". Now the phrases showing the syntactical relations of the constituents of the above mentioned forms are supplied by commentators as follows :



1. *suglāyati* < *suglaḥ*
2. *udgatāni, nigatāni* < *udvataḥ, nivataḥ*
3. *pragato dhvānam* < *prādhvaḥ*
4. *unnatā nāsikā sya* < *unnasaḥ*
5. *pragatam prīṣṭham asya* < *prapṛīṣṭhaḥ*
6. *praṇayati* < *praṇāyakaḥ*
7. *praṇatā nāsika yasya* < *praṇasaḥ* or *praṇaḥ*.

The phrases called as *vigraha-vākyas* by latter grammarians are presupposed by the respective *sūtras* in question for derivation of the words.<sup>15</sup>

The grammatical relation of such words, therefore, lie according to Pāṇini, in their underlying structure i. e. *vigraha-vākyas* and should be traced therein and not in surface structure i. e. pragmatic word. The connection with action is visibly expressed and not 'implied' as B. Faddagon holds in all such cases, in their underlying phrases. This also reflects the way which Pāṇini describes the language. Thus Pāṇinian method of description is binary. Its one side provides the basis containing the linguistic and grammatical properties expressly visible, and the other side transforms the basis into the desirable form. This also gives rise to the thought of a sort of transformational theory in Pāṇini which I have discussed in detail in my paper 'Treatment of Samāsas in Pāṇini<sup>19</sup>'.

### NOTES

1. Cf. *Padamanjari* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1. 5. 59 *saha-yoge tṛtīyā athavā kṛyāyā karmabhutayā prādinām dhātubhiryogāt karana eva tṛtīyā*.
2. *Vākyapadiya-kṛyā-samuddeśa* III. 8. 14
3. Cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* I. 3. 1, *kā punah kṛyā ? īhā. kā punarīhā? Ceṣṭa. kā punaśceṣṭā? Vyāpārah*.
4. *Ibid. sarvathā bhavānśhabdenaiva śabdān ācaṣṭe na kincid artha-jātam nidarśayatyevam-jātiyakā kṛyeti*.
5. *Ibid. Kṛiyā-nāmeyam atyantāparidrīṣṭā aśakyā pīṇibhutā nidarśayitum yathā garbho nirluṭhitah sāsāvanumānagamyā*.



6. Ibid. *ko sāvanumānah*.
7. Ibid. *iha sarveṣu sādhanēṣu sannihiteṣu kadācit pacatītyatadbhavati kadācinna bhavati yasmin sādhanē sannihite pacatītyetad bhavati sā nunamkrīyati athavā yayā devadattah iha bhutvā pāṭaliputre bhavati sā nunam krīyā*.
8. Vide, *Uddyota* on *Mahābhāṣya* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* VIII. 4. 16
9. Vide, *Sabdenduśekhara* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* I. 5, 59
10. Vide *Kārika*, *upasargeṇaiva dhātvartho balād anyatra niyate| āhāra prahāra samhāra parihāra vihāravat*.
11. Vide *Niruktam*, *arvāgarthe*.
12. Ibid. *adhi-pari anarthakau*. Vide also the Pāṇinian *sutra* I.4. 93.
13. Vide. *Studies on Pāṇini* P. 16.
14. Vide for instance the *Kāśika* on the respective *sutras*.
15. This underlying relation is also co-related by the *Mahābhāṣya* on various *sutras*.
16. The contention 'vadvidhi-nasbhāyābhīttva-svāngādisvara-ṇattveṣu doṣah raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* I. 4. 59 is to the *vārtika kṛyāyoge yat-kriyā-yuktāḥ tam pratiti vacanam* and not to the Pāṇinian *sutra* as Mr. S. N. Śāstri seems to have misunderstood it' (Vide *Nirukta-mīmāṃsa* P. 155). The contention is natural to arise because the *vārtika* reduces the *upasarga* only to a relative position whereas Pāṇini confers upon them the absolute position relevant in the whole sentence construction.
17. Vide- *Studies on Pāṇini*. P. 16.
18. Here I have a solid ground to disagree with Dr. S. J. Joshi that Pāṇini, is not based on transformational rules vide 'sentence structure according to Pāṇini' I. A. Serious III. PP. 14-26.
19. The paper is accepted to be read in the 'Linguistic Conference' to be held at Kurukshetra university on Sep. 25-27. 1972.



# “THE NATURE AND ROLE OF POETIC INTUITION ACCORDING TO INDIAN POETICS”

by

*Bishnupada Bhattacharya*

## I

Some very grave misconceptions are found to be deeply rooted in the minds of even veteran Anglo-Sanskrit Scholars on certain fundamental problems of poetic criticism. This is certainly to be regretted. Most of them - barring, of course, a few honourable exceptions - hold that according to the Indian viewpoint as embodied in ancient Sanskrit texts on poetics, literary criticism consists in the minute and threadbare analysis of words and their meanings, that form the outward vesture of poetic art. The merits (*guṇa*) and defects (*doṣa*) pertaining to these two important constituents, the various stylistic devices (*rīti*), the embellishments (*alaṃkāra*) like *upamā* and *anuprāsa*, have been, no doubt, the stock-in trade of ancient Indian critics of poetic art. They have dealt with these concepts and a host of similar others with great subtlety and critical acumen and have endeavoured to formulate certain norms controlling their relation with the art of poesy, which are above spatio-temporal determinations. The tastes of the connoisseurs of poetic art have been greatly influenced by these normative pronouncements of the great critics of old. But this was not the sole aim towards which their efforts were directed

The science of poetic criticism has two aspects-that can be called *exoteric* and *esoteric* respectively. In its outward aspect it no doubt deals with the external vesture of poetry - the words and their contents, the poetic embellishments that serve to enhance the outward appeal of the poet's art to lay readers, who cannot sound the unfathomable depths of his mind. But this is just one aspect of Sanskrit literary criticism and can give only a very imperfect idea as to its profundity. The other aspect-the esoteric one, can be grasped only by those who have been blessed with that rare critical intuition, which is so much akin to the creative intuition of the poet himself and the real



imports of the subtle, pithy, sparse, laconic and non-too-numerous pronouncements of the great thinkers that are hidden unnoticed in the vast *alaṃkāra* - literature can be comprehended properly by these true literary connoisseurs alone. These are not meant for laymen, for the un-initiated, who can only wonder at the outward form of the poetic creation, but are unable to have an insight into the depths of the poet's soul, "the burning fountain," that threw off these glowing forms to the eternal wonder of humankind.

It is the object of this paper to deal with one particular aspect of Sanskrit Poetics with a view to bringing into light the superb philosophical insight that the ancient Indian thinkers brought to bear upon the discussion of concepts relating to literary criticism so that those who would feign belittle the worth of *alaṃkāra* - śāstra as a science of true literary criticism and pronounce it as banal and superficial might reserve their verdict and be convinced of its real worth.

There are so many points of difference in the various systems of literary criticism prevalent in the different parts of the world. But, perhaps all of them agree on this one point - viz., the source on the prime cause of the poet's creation. All the great thinkers agree in this that it is the poet's intuition that is at the root of his creative urge. This intuition is termed *pratibhā* in Sanskrit poetics. Bhāmaha, one of the earliest teachers [*cīrantana*] of poetics in India unambiguously declares :—

“*Kāvyaṃ tu jāyate jātu  
Kasyacit pratibhāvataḥ*”.

And Daṇḍin, one of his contemporaries, while discussing the factors that contribute to the origin of poetry in his *Kāvyaḍarśa*, includes *pratibhā* or intuition as one of the triad :

“*Naisargikī ca pratibhā  
śrutaṃ ca bahu nirmalam/  
amandaś-cābhiyogo*’ syāḥ  
*kāraṇaṃ kāvya-sampadaḥ*”

This intuition is called *naisargikī* - i.e. innate, and it is the result of the accumulated impressions of previous births lying dormant in the poet's soul. But if extensive learning or *bahujñatā* and constant application (*abhyāsa*) re-inforce that latent intuitive gift, the poet's creation becomes all the more perfect and flawless.



These two views of the two earliest authors of Sanskrit poetics have greatly influenced the viewpoints of the later Sanskrit poeticians. While Mammaṭa, in his *Kāvya-prakāśa*, follows Daṇḍin in regarding the triad—viz. *Pratibhā*, *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa*, as the cause of poetic creation, still he assigns to *pratibhā* the most unique role when he says :

“Śaktiḥ kavītvabīja-rūpaḥ saṃskāra-viśeṣaḥ/  
yāṃ vinā kāvyam na prasaret, prasṛtaṃ  
vā upaḥsanīyam syāt//

Now, it may be asked : What is the true nature of this poetic intuition ? No doubt, it is a sort of cognition. But wherein lies the difference between poetic intuition and other ordinary forms of cognition? In this connection, we might refer to the views of Bhaṭṭa Tauta, one of the teachers of the great Abhinavagupta, as embodied in the following verses from his lost *kāvya-kautuka*. While classifying the human cognitive faculties, Bhaṭṭa Tauta observes :—

“Smṛtiḥ vyatītaviśayā  
matir āgāmi-gocarā/  
buddhiḥ—tātkālikī proktā  
prajñā traikālikī matā//  
prajñā navanavonmeṣa  
śālinī pratibhā matā/  
tadanuprāṇanājīvad-  
varnanānīpunaḥ kavīḥ//  
tasya karma smṛtaṃ kāvyam”//

Thus, according to Tauta's classification, human cognitions can be brought under three fundamentally distinct categories—viz-*smṛti*, *matī* and *prajñā*, and each of these categories can grasp objects as characterised by basically different temporal determinations. The objects falling within the scope of *smṛti* (recollection) have reference to the past. It is the function of *matī* to cognise objects having reference to the future. It is *buddhi* that illumines present objects alone. But these three cognitive faculties do not exhaust the whole field of human knowledge. There are, still, two additional faculties that are wholly distinct from the three just enumerated as regards their nature and scope. They are not found in each and every human being like the others and as such might be called extra-ordinary (*alaukika*) and super-sensuous. These two are respectively *prajñā* and *pratibhā*, as designated by the old thinkers. One who is endowed with the rare gift of *prajñā* has all objects—be they past, present or future, simultaneously illuminated by his cognitive faculty. He has knowledge of the



past, present and future objects in their inmost essence, there being nothing to hinder the operation of that faculty of *prajñā*. But there is a faculty still higher than *prajñā*, the highest of all and this is *pratibhā*. Like *prajñā* it has the power to overcome all temporal determinations, and yet there is one essential difference between the two. *Prajñā* is unwavering, calm, meditative and just directed towards grasping the essential being of the objects illumined by it, the *Ding-an-sich* as one might call it. But *pratibhā*, though beyond all temporal determinations like *prajñā* has an elusiveness, a novelty, an unpredictable power of conjuring up newer and newer forms and ideas besides probing into the deepest core of Being, which is wanting in the case of *prajñā*. Thus, though *prajñā* and *pratibhā* are alike supra-mundane faculties, still they cannot be equated. *Prajñā* is the gift of great thinkers, of philosophers and scientists, whereas *pratibhā*, characterises the spiritual make-up of all great creative artists, of poets like Vālmīki and Kālidāsa, Homer and Dante, Shakespeare, Rabindra nath and Goethe. Thus, according to Indian theoreticians *prajñā* is operative in the domain of *śāstras*, whereas *pratibhā* has its free play in the making of poetic art. Bhaṭṭa Tauta in another memorable verse, cited in later treatises from his lost *kāvya-kautuka* in all probability, pithily sums up the distinction between these supra-mundane cognitive faculties that lie at the basis of the entire domain of speech [*vāñmaya*], as embodied in *śāstras* and *kāvyas* respectively, thus :

“dve vartmanī giro devyāh  
 śāstram ca kavikarma ca/  
 prajñopajñamṭayor ādyaṃ  
 pratibhodbhavam antimam//”

The philosophic insight of such great thinkers as Śaṃkara, Rāmānuja, Kumārila, Dharmakīrti on the one hand and Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Hegel on the other is the outcome of *Prajñā*, whereas the creative activity of poets like Vālmīki, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Bāṇa and Aeschylus, Sophocles, Shakespeare, Goethe, Rabindranath has for its origin the artistic intuition known as *pratibhā*. These two faculties might be called “concept” and “intuition” as defined by Croce. *Prajñā* is “scientific concept”, while *pratibhā* is “poetic intuition”.

We have already hinted that there is a trait of innate spontaneity in *pratibhā*, and that is why *pratibhā* is usually looked upon as due to divine favour or an outcome of the blessings of holy men. It is thought that *pratibhā* cannot be acquired through the deliberate individual efforts and application of the poet. Philosophers of the Pāṇinian system like Bhartṛhari recognise a faculty known as *pratibhā*, which is inherent in



every living being—from the lowest insect to the highest of all creatures—viz., human beings. It is instinctive knowledge and lies at the very root of all our daily activities conducive to our very existence. Though it cannot be fully equated with the poet's *pratibhā* or intuition as defined by the *ālaṃkārikas*, still they resemble each other on several points very closely. Let us cite some verses from the Second Book of Bhartṛhari's *magnum opus-Vākyapadīya*, in this connection, in which he briefly illustrates the nature of this *pratibhā* as shared by all organic creations. Bhartṛhari says (VP, II. 149-51) :

“Yathā dravya-viśeṣāṇaṃ paripākairayatnajāh/  
madādiśaktayo dṛṣṭāḥ pratibhās tadvatāṃ tathā//  
svaravṛttim vikurute madhau puṃskokilasya kah/  
jantvādayahkulāyādikaraṇe kena śikṣitāḥ//  
āhāra-prītyapadveṣa plavanādi kriyāsu kah/  
jātyanvayaprasiddhāsu prayuktā mṛgapakṣiṇā m//”

The sweet notes of cuckoos that are heard with the advent of spring, the Spider's webs that strike us dumb by virtue of their artistic finesse, the art of building nests of even the tiniest of birds are not produced by conscious efforts. They are spontaneous expressions that derive their very being from the innate instinctive urge called *pratibhā*—by Bhartṛhari and his followers. The intuition of the poet, too, has this spontaneity and ease, and is not looked upon as the outcome of conscious endeavour of the artist, and the celebrated Ānandavardhana has drawn our attention to this spontaneous aspect of *pratibhā* in the following well-known verse of his *Dhvanyāloka* :

“Sarasvatī svādu tadarthavastu  
niḥśyandamānā mahatām kavīnām/  
alokasāmānyam abhivyanakti  
parisphurantāṃ pratibhā -viśeṣam//”

It is through the grace of the Divine Muse (*sarasvatī*) that words and meanings with all the requisite accompaniments of poetic expression like figures of speech and diction, along with the emotional content (*rasa*) rush spontaneously into the field of the poet's imaginative vision (*pratibhā*) that constitutes the very essence of his creative activity. Those alone can be truly regarded as Mahākavis, whose intuition has this innate spontaneity and before whose vision the poetic creation bodies forth as if by touch of a magic wand in all its sublime majesty.



Thus, poetic intuition is an immediate form of cognition that takes in one grand sweep every sort of object—past, present and future, distant and near, subtle and gross, ugly and beautiful, sublime and ridiculous, and endows them with a charm of its own. This vision of the poet cannot be equated with the ordinary sort of perception—though this, too, is immediate. It is *sui generis*. In ordinary perception, a thing appears to us in its universal aspect, as being determined by characteristics that are shared by other members belonging to the class. A tree is perceived by an ordinary human being, though unique and marked off from other members of the class by individual traits, as just like any other tree. Its uniqueness and individuality is hidden, to a great extent, under the class-characteristics that are shared by all trees in common, and correspondingly in conveying our perceptions through the medium of words in our day-to-day communication, the words employed are mostly incapable of expressing the uniqueness of the thing perceived and are just capable of conveying the universal traits that bind one member with other members of a class. This is due to the very deficiency in our faculty of perception which lacks the penetrativeness and clarity and sweep of poetic vision. It cannot probe into the very core of a thing and just hovers above the surface thereof. But poetic intuition, on the other hand, penetrates the outward surface of things, irrespective of their temporal reference and illumines their essential uniqueness, their uncommon individuality, that lie concealed in the very depth of their being beyond the ken of ordinary perception. Rājaśekhara has pithily described this uniqueness of poetic intuition in the following extract from his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* :

“anyadr̥ṣṭa-care hyarthe mahākavayo jātyandhāh/  
tad-viparīte tu divya-dr̥śah/ na tat tryakṣah sahasrākṣo  
yac carma-cakṣuṣo’pi kavayah paśyanti/  
mati-darpaṇe kavīnām viśvam pratiphalati//

—KM, CH. XII.

Genuine poets are blind to those aspects of things that are the objects of laymen’s perceptions; but their intuition easily grasps those things that do not fall within the purview of ordinary sensory perception. Poets, with a pair of eyes, can see things that elude even the vision of the three-eyed Śiva or the thousand-eyed Indra. The whole universe, with all its minute varieties is reflected faithfully, as it were in the glass of poetic intuition, overcoming all spatio-temporal limitations.



This unique feature of intuition of a great poet has been very beautifully set forth in the following verses of Mahimabhāṭṭa's *Vyaktiviveka* :

“(Ucyate) vastunas-tāvad dvairūpyam iha vidyate /  
 tatraikalmatra sāmānyam yad vikalpaikagocarah //  
 Sa eva sarvaśabdānām viṣayah parikīrtitah /  
 ata evābhidheyam te sāmānyam bodhayantyalam //  
 viśiṣṭam asya yad rūpam tat pratyakṣasya gocarah /  
 sa eva satkavigirām gocarah pratibhābhuvām //  
 yatah -  
 rasānuguna-śabdārtha-cintā-stimitacetasaḥ /  
 kṣaṇam svarūpasparśottha prajñaiḥ pratibhā Kaveḥ /  
 Sā hi cakṣurbhagavatas tṛtīyam iti gīyate /  
 Yena sāksāt karotyeṣa bhāvām-straikālyavarttinah //”

When the poet is in a meditative mood (*samādhi*) in search of words and meanings conducive towards suggestion of the emotional content intended to be conveyed, the cognitive faculty that is aroused as a result of the intimate contact with the essential nature of the things to be described is called *pratibhā*. This rare gift, that marks the poet off from all other human beings, is like the third eye of Śiva and can extend to any object, be it past, present or future.

From what has been stated thus far, one thing is evident viz. that the Indian authors on Poetics have stressed unanimously the capacity of poetic intuition in respect of illumining the unique particularism and individuality of the objects that fall within the purview of his art. The objects that constitute the poet's universe-be they animate or inanimate, divine or human, past, present or future-everyone of them has an individuality, an essence of its own, by virtue of which one cannot be confused with another. The poet, whose intuitive grasp is able to manifest this uniqueness of the things, that make up his universe to the highest degree conceivable, so that everything is stamped with an individuality-unmistakable, palpable, beyond all possibility of confusion - is to be regarded as occupying the highest place in the hierarchy of poetic fraternity. This view of the Indian theorists regarding the nature of poetic intuition has the closest affinity with the views of some eminent critics of the West on the subject. The following passage from R.G. Collingwood's celebrated treatise-viz., *The Principles of Art*, may not be irrelevant in this connection. As that eminent philosopher observes :-



“A genuine poet, in his moments of genuine poetry, never mentions by name the emotions he is expressing.

“The reason why description, so far from helping expression, actually damages it, is that description generalises. To describe a thing is to call it a thing of such and such a kind : to bring it under a conception, to classify it. Expression, on the contrary, individualizes. The anger which I feel here and now, with a certain person, for a certain cause is no doubt an instance of anger, and in describing it as anger one is telling truth about it; but it is more than mere anger : it is a peculiar anger, not quite like any anger that I ever felt before, and probably shall ever feel again. To become fully conscious of it means to become conscious of it not merely as an instance of anger, but as this quite peculiar anger. Expressing it has something to do with becoming conscious of it ; therefore, if being fully conscious of it means being conscious of all its peculiarities, fully expressing it means expressing all its peculiarities. The poet, therefore in proportion as he understands his business, gets as far away as possible from merely labelling his emotions as instances of this or that general kind, and takes enormous pains to individualize them by expressing them in terms which reveal their difference from any other emotion of the same sort.”

Again —

“The artist proper is a person, who, grappling with the problem of expressing a certain emotion, says, “I want to get this clear.” It is no use to him to get something else clear, however alike it this other thing may be. Nothing will serve as a substitute, He does not want a thing of a certain kind, he wants a certain thing. This is why the kind of person who takes his literature as psychology, saying “How admirably this writer depicts the feelings of women or bus-drivers, or homosexuals” necessarily misunderstands every real work of art with which he comes into contact, and takes for good art, with infallible precision, what is not art at all.”

It is true that Sanskrit poets, on their part, have very rarely translated this theoretical conception about the role of poetic intuition into actual practice in their epics or dramas, though it is quite evident from the excerpts already cited that the great critics of old were fully aware of the fundamental role of *pratibhā* in poetic creation. But it would not be fair on that account to belittle the clear pronouncements of the great *ālaṃkārikas* which prove, beyond all possibilities of doubt or misconception, that they were as much alive to the basic function of intuition as the most essential element in genuine poetic creation as the celebrated modern western critics. Our approach to Indian poetics is faulty as



a result of which we are unable to appreciate the worth of the masterly contributions of ancient Indian thinkers in the field of literary criticism. As the great Patañjali so aptly observes :

Naiṣa sthāṇor aparādho yad andha enam napaśyati puruṣāparādhah  
sa bhavati”

## II

6. Thus poetic intuition is a kind of immediate perceptual cognition—there can be no doubt about that. But as regards the origin of this intuitive faculty, it is doubtful whether the answers given by different theorists are wholly satisfactory. Though *pratibhā* is a sort of perceptual cognition, yet it is certain that it does not depend upon the requisite sense-organs as in the case of ordinary perceptions. For, if we carefully study the literary history of the different civilized nations of the world, it will be evident that even a poet, who is born blind has given evidence of an uncommon skill and subtlety and keenness of perception in depicting designs and colours that escape the notice of men endowed with normal vision. On this point Rājaśekhara has observed:—

“apratibhasya padārtha-sārthah parokṣa iva  
pratibhāvatah punarapaśyato’pi pratyakṣa iva  
yato Medhāvi Rudra-Kumāradāsādaya jātyandhāh Kavayah  
śrūyante

It is reported that Homer was blind. So, it must be granted that poetic intuition is independent of ordinary sensory perception. How, then, does this phenomenal universe composed of colour, taste, sound, flavour and touch—qualities that fall within the purview of ordinary sensory perception, unfold itself to poetic vision, and so clearly and minutely ? Indian critics would assert that even though the poet be incapable on account of his defective sense-organs of directly apprehending the qualities and substances that can be grasped by the corresponding sense-organs in his present birth, yet the images and impressions that lie dormant within his soul, accumulated on the basis of direct acquaintance with those objects in previous births, come out on the surface being roused by necessary provocative factors and thus become illuminated by the inner illumination of the poet which is his intuition. The ordinary sense-organs like eyes, ears etc., can take in one particular object like colour (*rūpa*), sound (*śabda*), etc. The eye is not competent to grasp sound nor the ear colour. But poetic intuition has the unique capacity to illumine all sorts of objects. It is endowed with the powers of all the sense-



organs simultaneously, as it were. The poets through their poetic intuition alone can have clear and distinct knowledge of colour and sound and smell and taste and touch and conjure up a world of their own composed of these various attributes and amidst these endless varieties of objects can intuit the essential unity and particularity of the things and characters thus created through the mechanism of such discrete experiences. That is why Ānandavardhana has designated *pratibhā* as “*Kavīnām navā dṛṣṭiḥ*”—a novel and unique kind of vision of the poets, “in the following exquisite verse cited in his *Dhvanyāloka* :

“Yā vyāpāravatī rasān rasayitum kācit kavīnām navā  
dṛṣṭir yā pariniṣṭhitārthaviṣayonmeṣā ca vaipaściti  
te dve apyavalambya viśvam anīṣam nirvarṇayanto vayam  
Śrānta naiva ca labdham abdhīṣayana tvad-bhaktitulyam sukham”

Thus, poetic intuition is something *sui generis*, because it does not only illumine objects that constitute the poet's world, but at the same time it has the power to relish the *rasa* or the emotional content that permeate his entire creation. Thus, this unique vision serves as it were, the functions of two sense-organs at the same time - the eye and the palate, which is inconceivable in the case of the ordinary perceptions. For this very reason Rājaśekhara has characterised the essence of *pratibhā* as “*jaihvam cakṣuḥ*” (or ‘the eye that is endowed with the faculty of tasting which is peculiar to the palate alone’) of poets in the following beautiful hemistich in one of his plays :-

“Ādyaḥ kando veda-vidyālatānām  
jaihvam cakṣur nirnimeṣam kavīnām/”

This is justly the total manifestation of poetic intuition - and it is due to this that poetic intuition - is differentiated from ordinary sensory perceptual cognitions that are discrete and disintegrated and partial. As Professor Collingwood has observed :

“A work of art proper is a total activity  
which the person enjoying it apprehends, or is  
conscious of, by the use of his imagination.”

It will be found from the foregoing discussion that in accounting for the spontaneity and total illumination as inherent in the very nature of poetic intuition Indian thinkers have taken recourse to pre-natal impressions lying latent in the poet's psychosis. But modern western



critics, while dwelling on these very traits of the poet's imaginative faculty have taken their stand on Freudian psychology as an explanation of its spontaneity, comprehensiveness, as also its clarity and distinctness. The eminent English critic Herbert Read thus observes while giving an account of the functioning of the poet's intuition just on the eve of artistic creation :

“—In such a mood of creative activity, the author stands face to face with his personality. He stands fully conscious of the wavering confines of his conscious mind, an expanding and contracting, a fluctuating horizon where the light of awareness meets the darkness of oblivion and in keeping aware of that area of light and at the same time watching the horizon for a suggestion of more light, the poet induces that new light into his consciousness; as when, at twilight no stars are visible to a casual glance, but shine out in answer to a concentrated stare. Such lights come, of course, from the latent memory of verbal images in what Freud calls the preconscious state of mind ; or from the still obscurer state of the unconscious, in which are hidden, not only the neural traces of repressed sensations, but also those inherited patterns which determine our instincts. . . .”

Does it not appear to be another version of the ancient Indian theory about the nature of poetic intuition in a new garb expressed in terms of Freudian psychology ?

7. Thus, it is evident that a poet blessed with this rare gift of imaginative intuition is alone capable of having immediate vision of the characters, situations and all sorts of physical and psychical elements that make up his universe. But this vision alone is not sufficient for the creative activity of the poet. This intuition must be re-inforced by expression, otherwise it would be of no avail. *Bhaṭṭa-Tauta*, the reputed critic and author of the lost *Kāvya-kautuka*, and *Abhinavagupta*'s preceptor in the art of literary criticism, has unambiguously asserted “*darśanād varṇanāccāpi rūdhā loke kaviśrutih*”.

The poet has to take recourse to linguistic symbols for giving expression to his experience. He must communicate the persons and things and situations that he has directly perceived through his intuition, the emotional flavour that he has tasted, to sympathetic connoisseurs (*Sahṛdaya*) and by this alone can his mission be regarded as fulfilled. Now, a question might naturally spring in our minds at this stage—viz., if the poet has to communicate his complex organic experience along with the attendant emotional content to appreciative readers with the help of linguistic medium, he must have to search for suitable words, and phrases, and figures of speech and all other conceivable elements



that are essential for its successful communication - and this requires some sort of effort on his part that hampers the spontaneous functioning of his *pratibhā* in respect of his creativity; and this is bound to take away such of the directness, clarity, freshness and organic unity of the poet's original experience based upon imaginative intuition as described above at the time of its expression through the mechanism of linguistic symbols. So, how can *pratibhā* alone be regarded as the sole origin of the poet's creative activity? This is, no doubt, a very cogent and natural query. But this does not present to the true literary critic any insuperable difficulty and an answer to this problem can be available if the relation of this expression with the poet's original intuition is analysed.

Expression, according to the great Indian poetics, is not something alien to the poet's intuition. It is just another aspect of the intuition itself. There is no temporal sequence between intuition and expression, as it appears to be to the ordinary eye. The two are simultaneous and the genesis of the one is inconceivable without reference to the other. The very intuition which enables the poet to have an immediate cognition of the various objects, events and characters that constitute his universe is also endowed with the power to call forth instantaneously the words and phrases, the multifarious and intricate figures of speech and other necessary linguistic appendages that give the inner intuition an outward tangible form—'a local habitation and a name'. To a genuine poet intuition and expression are not two distinct faculties, they are evolutes of the self-same creative urge of the poet and are really identical and inseparable. As Rājasekhara observes with such admirable keenness :

“Yā śabda-grāmam arthasārtham alamkāraṇam  
uktimārgam anyadapi tathāvidham adhihṛdayam prati-  
bhāsayati sā pratibhā/”

So, the objects that the poet intuitively from the very outset emerge clothed in their proper linguistic symbols that constitute their very being and this is the essence of the Indian theoretician's view about the nature of poetic imagination. The poetic embellishments - like *upamā rūpaka*, etc., are really inseparable from the nature of things that come within the range of the poet's imaginative illumination. It is just the things embellished *as such* that are revealed by the poet's divine eye. The embellishments are not later creations heaped upon the naked things grasped by the poetic intuition by an additional effort, though to a layman this appears to be the real process of poetic creation. And it is for this reason that Ānandavārdhana has termed the so-called poetic embellishments as *apṛthag-yatna-nirvartya* - i.e. having their being from



the self-same intuitive effort of the poet and not brought about by any extraneous effort. The most eminent writers on Sanskrit poetics, therefore, have always designated the poetic figures as *pratibhānirvartita* which is just an echo of Ānandavardhana's pronouncement. Thus Indian theorists have always looked upon poetic creation as an indivisible, organic whole - an expression, a hypothetisation of the poet's intuition itself *in words*, and nothing else. So, the analytic process, the scheme, as resorted to by the poetics for describing the poetic art and the consequent dismemberment thereof into such concepts as words, meaning, poetic figures and excellences and dictions and so on, are just a propaedeutic, a means to an end, the end in this case being the initiation of the novice into the mysteries of poetic creation. They are fully aware of the unreality of this analytic approach to the poetic art, which is beyond the ken of all analysis. Still, this unreal process can help lead us nearer to the desired goal. The approach of the Grammarians towards the analytic study of words and sentences with the full knowledge of the unreality of any such attempt, the reality according to them being *sphoṭa*, which is indivisible eternal, devoid of all sequence, might be cited here as a parallel instance. Even unreal appearances might, under certain circumstances, be helpful towards comprehension of the ultimate truth. As Bhartṛhari has put it :—

“Upāyāḥ śikṣyamānānām bālānām upalālanāḥ/  
asatye vartmani sthitvā tataḥ satyaṁ samihate/”

Similarly, Kuntaka, in his *Vakroktijīvitā*; has unambiguously declared the unity and indivisibility of the poet's creation and the illusoriness of the concepts based upon a false analysis in the following *Kārikā*

“alamkṛtīr=alamkāryam apoddhṛtya vivicyate/  
tadupāyatayā tattvaṁ sālamkārasya kāvyatā/”

We might quote here the observations of Benedetto Croce on the occasion of criticising the analytic procedure of Rhetoric, that bear such a close resemblance to the views of the Indian masters as set forth above :

“The illegitimate division of expressions into various grades is known in literature by the name of doctrine of ornament or of rhetorical categories. But similar attempts at distinctions in other artistic groups are not wanting : suffice it to recall the *realistic* and *symbolic* forms, so often mentioned in relation to painting and sculpture.



"*Realistic and Symbolic, objective, and subjective, classical and romantic, simple and ornate, proper and metaphorical*, the fourteen forms of metaphor, the figures of *word and sentence, pleonasm, ellipse inversion, repetition, synonyms and homonyms*, these and all other determinations of modes or degrees of expression reveal their philosophic nullity when the attempt is made to develop them in precise definitions, because they either grasp the void or fall into the absurd. A typical example of this is the very common definition of metaphor as of another word *used in place of the proper word*. But if this be so the metaphor is exactly the proper word in that case, and the so called proper word, if it were used, would be in-expressive and therefore most improper. Similar observations of elementary good sense can be made regarding the other categories, as, for example, the general one of the ornate. Here, for instance, it may be asked how an ornament can be joined to expression externally? In that case, either it does not assist the expression and mars it; or it does form part of it and is not an ornament, but a constituent element of the expression, indivisible and indistinguishable in its unity."

Thus, though, according to Croce, analysis of the poetic creation and the consequent classification of the rhetorical concepts into so many categories, are futile and absurd from the standpoint of ultimate reality yet he, too, like the ancient Indian thinkers, has not failed to realise the utility of such attempts, when viewed upon from a relatively lower plane of reality. As he has observed :—

"Some while admitting the aesthetic non-existence of the rhetorical categories, yet make a reservation as to their utility and the service they are supposed to render especially in schools of literature. We confess that we fail to understand how error and confusion can educate the mind to logical distinction, or aid the teaching of a science which they disturb and obscure. Perhaps, what is meant by such distinctions is empirical classes can aid memory and learning as was admitted above for literary and artistic kinds. To this there is no objection. There is certainly another purpose for which the rhetorical categories should continue to appear in schools : to be criticised there. The errors of the past must not be forgotten and no more said, and truths cannot be kept alive save by making them combat errors. Unless an account of the rhetorical categories can be given, accompanied by a criticism of them, there is a risk of their springing up again and it may be said that they are already springing up among certain philologists as the latest psychological discoveries."

Thus we see that though the ancient Indian theorists were busy with subtle and minute analysis of the outward form of poetic art, still



they were never forgetful of the fundamental truth-viz., that the poetic art has its origin in the poet's intuition, of which it is but a gradual unfolding and evolution.

8. We have already alluded to the two main views regarding the causal factors underlying the genesis of poetry. One of these is ascribed to Bhāmaha and the other to Daṇḍin. According to the first view *pratibhā* [Intuition] has been designated as the sole cause of poetic art, whereas in the second view *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa* as well have been regarded as ancillary causes reinforcing the operation of poetic intuition. It must be noted, however, that Daṇḍin does not ignore the primary role of *pratibhā* towards the origin of poetry, though he has attached no mean importance to the other two factors in this respect. Mammaṭa, too, has mainly followed Daṇḍin on this point. Yet a commentator of *Kāvya-prakāśa*, elucidating the remark of Mammaṭa unambiguously stresses the primacy of *pratibhā* in the following text.

“Yadyapi śaktyādayah sambhūya vyāpriyante tathāpi yathāh  
ghaṭasya mṛdrupatāyam mṛda utkaṭa-upayogo rekhoparekhādau  
tu sūtrādinām, evamihāpi dharmisiddhau śakter guṇādyutkarṣa  
rūpe tu samyagudbhavo vyutpattyabhyāsayor-iti//”

Later on Jagannātha endeavoured to revive the view of Bhāmaha as regards the role of *pratibhā* in poetic art and clinch by means of rigorous ratiocination the exact relation of *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa* with *pratibhā* and as such his observations regarding the true nature and function of *pratibhā* must be regarded as an extremely valuable and illuminating contribution on the subject. Jagannātha states :

“*tasya ca kāraṇam kavigatā kevalā pratibhā.*”

It has been already noted that there is an innate spontaneity in *pratibhā*. But this spontaneity is but an outcome, an effect, and if we search after its cause we shall arrive at some such element as *adṛṣṭa* resulting from the blessings of a saintly personage or the favour bestowed by some divinity duly propitiated on the one hand or a distinctive attainment of scholarship combined with ceaseless application on the other as lying at its root. Thus, Jagannātha arrives at the conclusion that *pratibhā* might be the result of *adṛṣṭa* or of *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa* combined. The intuitions of the different individual poets-like Vālmiki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Bhavabhūti, to name only the most eminent in the history of Sanskrit literature, are evidently distinct from each other, though they share among themselves the generic property of *pratibhā*, consisting in spontaneity, precision, depth and clarity that are the essential marks of intuition as such. But why and how does the



intuitive grasp of Vālmiki or a Kālidāsa differ from that of a Bāṇa or a Bhavabhūti ? If we are to mark them off from each other, we might call the first type of *pratibhā* as having its genesis in *adr̥ṣṭa*, while the second type might be designated as being the outcome of *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa*. It is but quite logical that the same effect cannot be the outcome of the self-same cause. And consequently, the poetic product of any type of *pratibhā* must ipso facto differ from that of the other type. The appeal of these two types of poetry also would be different to connoisseurs in consonance with the causal principle. The ancient theorists have also differed in their views as regards the excellence of one type of poetry over the other. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* has referred to the view of Ānandavardhana in this matter upholding the superiority of *pratibhā* to *vyutpatti*, whereas in the opinion of one Mangala, also cited by him, it is *vyutpatti* that should be given the pride of place. Rājaśekhara himself, however, would prefer a happy combination of the two as conducive to the genesis of the best type of poetry. Just as in the case of female beauty natural loveliness re-inforced by the charm caused by artificial embellishments gains in attractiveness, so in the case of poetry also spontaneous intuition wedded to laboriously acquired scholasticism gives rise to the height of perfection that is the aim of every true poet. To quote the words of Rājaśekhara :

“pratibhā-vyutpatti mithah samavete śreyasyau iti yāyāvāriyah/  
na khalu lāvaṇya-lābhād ṛte rūpa-sampad ṛte rūpasampado  
vā lāvaṇyalabdhir mahate saundaryāya//”

But it must be noted that the admixture of these two elements [viz. *pratibhā* and *vyutpatti*] does not follow any fixed law and on account of the infinitely varied degrees of admixture there is no end to the variety of poetic types also. That the ancient Indian theorists were fully aware of this endless variety of poetic intuition and consequently of individual poetic natures is proved beyond doubt from their observations. As Daṇḍ in clearly states :

“astyaneko girāṃ mārgaḥ  
Sūkṣma-bhedaḥ parasparam/  
teṣāṃ vaidarbha-gauḍiyau  
varṇyete prasphuṭāntarau//”

The poetic dictions are similarly distinct from each other. Yet, the ancient thinkers classified them broadly into several representative categories—two, three or five, just for the sake of convenience of treatment, as a measure of expediency. Kuntaka, the author of



*Vakroktijīvita* has pointed this out unambiguously in the following remark :-

“Yadyapi Kavi-svabhāva-bhedanibandhatvād  
ananta-bheda-bhinnatvam anivāryam tathāpi parisamkhyātum  
aśakyatvāt sāmānyena traividhyam evopapādyate//”

Thus, Kuntaka classifies the poetic dictions under three broad heads - viz., *Sukumāra*, *vicitra* and *madhyama*, that have their origin in the varying degrees of combination of the two types of *pratibhā* - viz. *sahajā* (innate and spontaneous) and *āhārya* that is the outcome of *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa*. Kuntaka has also referred to some great names in Sanskrit literature who might be looked upon as representatives of these three distinct poetic styles. According to him Mātṛgupta, Māyurāja Mañjira etc., are the poets of *madhyamamārga*; Kālidāsa and Sarvasena belong to the *Sukumāramārga*; whereas Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti and Rajaśekhara are affiliated to the *vicitra mārga*. But this classification, Kuntaka, justly observes, can never be exhaustive and can give only a very faint idea as to the unfathomable and unforeseeable mutations of poetic types that might arise out of the admixture and interplay of *pratibhā*, *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa* :

“evam mārga-tritayalakṣaṇaṁ dīnāmātram eva pradārśitam/  
na punaḥ Sākalyena satkavi-Kauśalaprakārāṇāṁ Kenacid  
api svarūpam abhidhātum pāryate//”

It might not be out of place here to refer to the views of the great philosopher Benedetto Croce, who regards all attempts of classification of poetry - which in his opinion is nothing but intuition-cum-expression as absolutely puerile and irrational as he observes :-

“It might, (on the other hand), be asked at this point if there be *modes* or *degrees* of expression; if, having distinguished two degrees of activity of the spirit, each of which is sub-divided into two other degrees, one of these—intuitive-expressive, is not in its turn sub-divided into two or more intuitive modes, into a first, second or third degree of expression. But this further division is impossible; a classification of intuition-expressions is certainly permissible, but is not philosophical; individual expressive facts are so many individuals, not one of which is inter-changeable with another, save in its common quality of expression. To employ the language of the schools : expression is a species which cannot function in its turn as a genus. Impressions or contents vary : every content differs from every other content, because nothing repeats itself ; and the irreducible variety of the forms of expression correspond



to the continual variation of the contents, the aesthetic synthesis of impressions."

Just as Kuntaka has theoretically admitted the possibility of classification of the different poetic intuitions under three broad genres through a commixture of the two principal poetic types—viz., *Sukumāra* and *vicitra*, similarly an eminent philosopher of the West, too, has admitted the possibility of infinite variations of intuition or imagination, which might be cited here :

".....Imagination is variously divided among individuals; as a simple talent, as passive or feminine genius, and in the highest degree as the active or masculine genius, formed by reflexion and instinct, in which all faculties flourish simultaneously and fancy is no isolated flower, but the goddess Flora herself who, in order to produce new combinations, crosses with each other those blossoms whose conjunction is fertile and is, so to speak, a faculty full of faculties."

Still, it is not so easy to determine which poet would pursue the *Sukumāra* style, which the *madhyama* or the *vicitra*. That lies completely beyond the reach of deliberate human endeavour. The individual propensity of any particular poet towards any particular type of poetic diction is determined by the accumulated impressions that control all human action and constitute the personality of man. No doubt, intense concentration and meditation associated with ceaseless application bring into play those dormant impressions underlying the poetic psychosis, which compel the poet to affiliate himself to any of the three aforesaid principal types of poetic expression. And when a poet, like Bāṇa, expresses himself through the medium proper to the poetic diction designated as *vicitra* by Kuntaka, the appreciative connoisseurs are simply struck with awe and wonder at the boundless display of imageries and uncommon turns and twists of expression issuing forth, without the least effort as it were, that lend distinction to this mode of poetic diction and are able to realise the aptness of the observation made by Bhaṭṭendurāja, the celebrated preceptor of Abhinavagupta, who quotes it in his *Locanā*—viz.

"helāpi kasyacid acintya-phalaprasūtyai  
Kasyāpi nālam aṇave'pi phalāya yatnah/  
digdanti-romacalanam dharāṇim dhunoti  
khāt sampatann-api latām cālayenna bhṛṅgaḥ//"



Could we not recall here these famous lines from Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* (Act V. Sc. 2) uttered by Cleopatra herself with reference to the great Roman General—

“.....For his bounty,  
There was no winter in't; an autumn' twas  
That grew the more by reaping His delights/  
Were dolphin-like; they show'd his back above  
The element they liv'd in; In his livery  
Walk'd crowns and crownets; realms and islands were  
As plates dropped from his pocket”

We would like to close our discussion after dwelling, in brief, on one more aspect of *pratibhā*. In Indian poetics the critics (*Sahṛdayas*) are given the same importance as the poets. The critics and the poet cooperate with one another to render the poetic art truly meaningful. Ānandavardhana, in his *Dhvanyāloka*, has stressed in more than one place the critic's role in poetic appreciation. And this is no wonder. For Abhinavagupta calls Dhvanikāra as the “*prince of Sahṛdayas*” (*Sahṛdaya-cakravartin*). A true *Sahṛdaya* alone is entitled to relish the beauty of the poet's creation, and has the capacity to lay down the proper standards for poetic criticism. To him alone does Muse unravel her hidden mystery and grace and to none else. As the Ṛgvedic seer says :

“uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācam  
uta tvaḥ śṛṇvan na śṛṇotyenam /  
uto tvasmai tanvam visasre  
jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsāh /”

A verse in Rajaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* very beautifully brings out the distinction between the poet and the critic, which deserves to be quoted here in full :—

“Kaścīd vācam racayitum alam śrotum evāparas tam  
Kalyāṇī te matir ubhayathā vismayam nastanoti /  
na hyekasminn—atiśayavatām sannipāto guṇānām  
ekah sūte kanakam upalas tatparīkṣā-kṣamo'nyah /”

It is very rarely that these two distinct gifts – the gift of the poet and the gift of the critic, are found to be combined in the self-same person. A great poet might not be a great critic and *vice versa*. But



when they do combine we have an Ānandavardhana, an Abhinavagupta, a Goethe, a Schiller, a Wordsworth, a Shelley, a Rabīndranath. An ideal critic is looked upon with the same feeling of reverence as an ideal poet, because in both of them the intuitive faculty finds its fullest expression, though in differing aspects, and both of them are mutually supplementary.

Rājaśekhara has distinguished these two types of *pratibhā* by employing two different epithets. The poet's intuition is designated by him as *Kārayitrī pratibhā* or creative intuition, whereas the type of *pratibhā* that marks off genuine critic is called by him *bhāvayitrī pratibhā* or appreciative intuition, by virtue of which it becomes possible for him to probe into the depths of the poet's innermost thoughts and feelings that urge him into the act of creation. In want of this critical intuition, there would be no meaning of the creative act, and as, Rājaśekhara puts it, it would become absolutely barren-

“Sā ca dvidhā kārayitrī bhāvayitrīca  
Kaver upakurvānā kārayitrī/bhāvakasyopakurvāṇā  
bhāvayitrī sā hi kaveḥ Śramam abhiprāyamca  
bhāvayati/tayā khalu phalitah kaver vyāpāra-taruh/  
anyathā so' vakeśī syāt / ’,

Thus, there is a subtle and vital affinity between the poet and the critic. The critic, too, is a poet in another sense, otherwise it would not be within his power to appreciate genuine poesy. As a well-known saying goes :

“Kavir eva vijānāti Kaveḥ Kriyādarām /  
na hi vandhya vijñāti gurvīm prasavavedanam / ’”

Eminent Western critics have arrived at the same conclusion regarding the question of affinity between the poet and the critic. Benedetto Croce's observations might be cited here, so that the striking resemblance, nay identity, between the viewpoints of ancient Indian thinkers and the great modern thinkers of the West on one of the fundamental issues of aesthetics might become evident :-

“...The activity of judgement which criticizes and recognizes the beautiful is identical with what produces it. The only difference lies in the diversity of circumstances, since in the one case it is a question of aesthetic production, in the other of reproduction. The activity which



judges is called *taste* ; the productive activity is called *genius* : genius and taste are therefore substantially identical.

“The common remark that the critic should possess something of the genius of the artist and that the artist should possess taste, gives a glimpse of this identity...To posit a substantial difference between genius and taste, between artistic production and reproduction, would render both communication and judgement alike inconceivable. How could we judge who remained external to us ? How could that which is produced by a given activity be judged by a different activity ? The critic may be small genius, the artist a great one ; the former may have the strength of ten, the latter of hundred ; the former, in order to reach a certain height, will have need of the assistance of the other ; but the nature of both must remain the same. To judge Dante, we must raise ourselves to his level : let it be well understood that empirically we are not Dante, nor Dante we ; but in that moment of contemplation and judgement, our spirit is one with that of the poet, and in that moment we are one. In this identity alone resides the possibility that our little souls can echo great souls, and grow great with them in the universality of the spirit.”

This appreciative intuition *bhāvayitrī pratibhā* or taste is not, however, to be looked upon as something esoteric. It is universal in character, though the degree of its manifestation differs from one person to another. An ordinary layman derives, for the time being, something of the bliss which urged the poet to the expression of his inner thoughts and feelings in the form of a lyric or an epic or a play just like the most gifted of the connoisseurs, though in the latter's case this identification (*tanmayibhāvanā*) with the poet's psychosis is much more complete, and the consequent aesthetic enjoyment, too, is all the more intense. The same phenomenon is noticeable in the case of the poet's creative intuition (*Kārayitrī pratibhā*) as well. For even if this poetic intuition be reckoned as universal, yet its manifestation is varied in different individuals, on account of a multiplicity of factors like the poet's heredity, his social and political milieu, and a host of other determinants that react upon that creative faculty, which consequently is tinged with myriad hues. This explains the infinite variety and novelty of poetic personalities, though all of them share in the basic identity in form of poetic intuition. The great Indian critics were keen enough to take note of this important fact just like the most eminent modern critics of the West. This can be proved on the basis of the following verse occurring in the *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* ascribed to the celebrated Kashmirian poet-critic Ruyyaka :



Īdr̥ṣam bhāvayan kāvyam rasikah paramam sukham/  
prāpnoti kāla-vaiṣamyād guṇatas trividho'pi san//”

The world of *sahṛdayas* or aesthetes might, according to Ruyyaka, be classed under three distinct categories on the basis of predominance of any of the three primary elements—viz: *Sattva rajas* and *tamas*: All of them are endowed with the gift of deriving joy from a work of art: But the enjoyment, in the case of the one in whom *sattva* predominates, would, as a matter of course, be much more refined, pure, free from impediments than in the case of the other two species. For the persons and incidents that make up the poet's universe are equally constituted of the same three basic elements—*Sattva, rajas* and *tamas*; and only cognate natures can be attracted to cognate events and characters, so that the same poetic creation would give rise to different reactions in the connoisseurs according to their fundamental constitutional difference. As the saying goes :—

“ parivrāt-Kāmuka-śunām  
ekasyām eva yoṣiti /  
Kuṇapah Kāminī bhakṣyam  
iti tisro vikalpanāh //”

We have just made a very modest attempt to evaluate the contributions of the great critics of ancient India on the nature and role of intuition (*pratibhā*) in the creative activity of the poet. Impartial and thoughtful observers, it is hoped, would not fail to understand that the charge against the Indian theorists - viz., that they only busied themselves with the external vestures of the poetic art, is absolutely baseless and malicious. They were, however, fully aware of the limitations, both intellectual and aesthetic, of individuals engaged in the study of poetry and, as such, tried to present their thoughts on the nature of the poet's creative activity in a manner easily intelligible to them according to their respective intellectual attainments. To a novice, who was in need of being introduced to the nature of the poet's art, it was absolutely improbable, they thought, to get a glimpse of the mysterious springs of the poet's imaginative activity. They could just understand some broad and clear-cut concepts like *doṣa, guṇa, alamkāra, riti, vritti* etc. that related to the outward form of poetry. But, when they were initiated into the nature of these categories, and their critical faculties became refined, it was easier for them to realise the futility of these categorisations in respect of true poetic appreciation and felt that all these were mere appearances, the meaning and significance of which could be grasped only when the hidden source of the poetic impulse which was nothing but *pratibhā* or the creative intuition, was intuited. That alone was the true impelling force driving the poet to the act of



creation, that embodied itself in the form of words and meanings, *rītis* and *vyttis*, *guṇas* and *alamkāras*, the ultimate end being emotion (*rasa*) or infinite bliss consequent upon the attainment of a state of psychic equilibrium or poise to which all the above elements converged and for which the poet himself strived. This is the secret of the poetic act of creation — “*tad etat kavya-rahasyam paramam-iti*”. We would like to conclude our discussion by referring to the beautiful verse, uttered by the celebrated Abhinavagupta as the most fitting tribute to that Divine intuitive urge whose mysterious workings make possible the unfolding of this universe spread before our eyes, infinite both in space and time-

“*yadunmīlana-śaktyaiva viśvām unmīlati kṣaṇāt /*  
*svātmāyatana-viśrāntām tām vande pratibhām śivām //*”



## A DUBIOUS PASSAGE IN THE BARABAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA,

Dr. S. N. Ghosal,

Lecturer, Calcutta University

The last among the three Barabar Hill cave Inscriptions of Aśoka has a large number of lacunae, due to which it is very difficult to ascertain its exact text. The edict with the doubtful letters arranged within the brackets stands as :

*Lāja piyadasī ekunavīsativasā (bhi) site ja (laghosāgama) thāta (me)  
i (yaṁ kubhā) supi (ye) kha [latikapavatasi] [di] nā.*

By a personal study of the plate, which contains the impression, we note that the syllable *na* of *ekunavisati* etc actually looks like *ne* i.e. there occurs a vertical line at the left side of the top [I] of the syllable. The syllable *te* of *vasābhisite* is extremely doubtful. After this the syllable *ja* is distinct but *la* is extremely obscure. To us it looks like *lu* or *tu*. The next syllable *gho* is absolutely illegible only a vertical mark in the right side can be noted but nothing of *gh* [w], which is obscured by spots. The syllable *ga* of *āgama* cannot be definitely known but may be surmised. The next syllable i.e., *ma* is extremely doubtful. Not a single syllable between *khā* and *nā* can be read.

Even if we accept the restoration of the scholars to be correct we note some incongruity in the translation of the inscription as given by Hultzsch "When king Priyadarśin had been anointed nineteen years this cave in the very pleasant kha [latika mountain] was given by me (for shelter during the rainy season).<sup>1</sup>"

Hultzsch comments thus upon the expression *jalaghosāgamathāta* : "Literally for the sake of the approach of the roar of waters."<sup>2</sup> His translation and comment are based upon such a Skt. rendering as *jalaghoṣāgamārthatah*.



R. K. Mukherjee translates the edict as : "His gracious Majesty the king being consecrated nineteen years this cave in the very pleasant khalatika hill was granted by me against the coming of the rains.<sup>[3]</sup>"

He adds the following note : "*jalaghosāgamathāta*=lit. for the sake of the roar of waters.<sup>(4)</sup> It is evident that Mukherjee presumes the same Skt. equivalent for the expression, which was surmised by Hultsch. Now it is interesting to note that Basak also accepts this Sanskrit rendering only substituting *arthāya* for *arthatah*. But he omits this expression in his translation. His translation occurs as : "King Priyadarśin was now consecrated nineteen years. "By me was given this cave in the very pleasant or the most favourite khalatika hill.<sup>(5)</sup>" The absence of the expression is quite palpable here.

D. C. Sarcar has also given a translation, from which it is very difficult to understand what he actually understood by the expression *jalaghosa* etc. His translation stands as : "When the period of nineteen years elapsed since the coronation of king Priyadarśin this cave in the very pleasant Skhalatika is given by him for the stay of the ascetics beyond the reach of the flood-waters during the rainy season. <sup>(6)</sup>"

Now by a study of the translations of the expression as provided by Hultsch and Mukherjee and also of their notes it is found that the emphasis falls on the roars of the rains. According to their estimate the dedication of the cave is made to the monks owing to the roar of the rains. In other words the monks are to be protected against the noise of the rains, which is to put the ascetics to a great difficulty and not against the very showers. But this idea is queer and fantastic, because if the saints need protection they need it against the downpour of rains and not against their thunders. So this idea cannot be presumed to have been what the author of the edict actually intended to communicate. So this cannot be accepted.

We have already stated before that the syllable *la* in the expression *jalaghosa* etc. looks like *lu* and the syllable *gho* is extremely obscure, though a vertical mark at the right side of the obscured syllable is noted, which alone cannot give us the indication of the vowel *o*. The vertical mark at the left side, which itself together with the former could have represented the vowel *o*, is absolutely wanting in the inscription. So we doubt whether this syllable was ever what the restorer of the edict has induced us to accept. However in the absence of a correct deciphering of the text we accept the restoration tentatively. But it may happen that the mark for the vowel *o* actually belonged to the preceding syllable, but it was wrongly transferred to the following one by the ignorant workmen, who actually transcribed the edict on the body of the cave.



Such a blunder is quite possible on the part of the workmen, since they being mechanics had little literary education under the ordinary circumstances.

Now let us see whether this emendation improves the meaning of the expression or not. With such a shifting of the vowel mark we get the text as *jaloghasāgamathāta*. Such an expression may quite naturally correspond to Skt, *jalaughasya āgamārthataḥ*. The term *arthataḥ* conveys here the sense of *hetunā* indicating some cause of an action, described in the sentence. If we substitute the latter in the place of the former we get the text like *jalaughasya āgamahetunā*. The word *ogha*, it may be pointed out here, bears the sense of current, stream, mass, heap, great downpour, violent flow etc." Then the above expression will mean "for the approach of the torrents of rain." This suits the meaning undoubtedly according to our estimate since the cave is dedicated to the saints for protecting them against the down-pour of the rains and not against the noise of the rains. It is evident that the emendation in the text gives a better meaning. So there is no harm in accepting it.

#### Foot-notes

1. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I The Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 182.
2. *ibid.*
3. Aśoka, p. 202.
4. *ibid.*
5. Aśokan Inscriptions, p. 154.
6. Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 64.



## THE MEANING OF CHĀYĀNĀṬAKA

R. UPADHYĀYA

The meaning of the term *chāyānāṭaka* has not yet been cleared up. Dr. S. K. De admits that the connotation of the term *chāyānāṭaka* is extremely dubious. He has summarised the various possible interpretations of the term as follows: 'The term is variously explained as outline of a drama or *orentra*' etc (Rajendrala Mitra and Wilson); 'shadow of a drama or halfdrama' (Pischel); a drama in the state of shadow' (Levi). Having regard to the derivative nature of the plays like the *Dūtāṅgada* and the *Mahānāṭaka*, which incorporate verses from known and unknown Rama-dramas, it is not impossible to hold that the term *chāyānāṭaka* means an epitomised adaptation of previous plays on the subject, the term *chāyā* being a well known technical term used in the sense of borrowing or adaptation. It should be noted that the *chāyānāṭaka*, in the sense of shadow-play, is not a category of Sanskrit, dramatic composition and is unknown to the theorists as a dramatic genre, early or late. Its prevalence in ancient time is extremely doubtful and the part alleged to be played by it in the evolution of the Sanskrit drama is entirely problematic. <sup>1</sup>

In spite of Dr. De's negative statements, it may be worthwhile to go into the meaning of the term *chāyānāṭaka* and see whether something can be made out of it. This we shall try to do by taking some concrete instances,

Of several dramas named by their authors as *chāyānāṭaka* the *Dūtāṅgada* by Subhaṭa appears to be the earliest.<sup>2</sup> The author might have

1. History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 501.

2. Other dramas named by their authors as *Chāyānāṭaka* are the *Ullāgharāghava* by Somesvara [13th century], the *Subhadrā Parinayana*, the *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya* and the *Rāmābhyudaya* by *Rāmādevavyāsā* [15th century] and the *Dharmābhyudaya* by *Meghaprabhācārya*.



got the clue to name his drama as a chāyānāṭaka from the pratimānāṭaka of Bhāsa and the chāyānka of the Uttararāmacarita by Bhavabhūti. The pratimānāṭaka has obviously been so called because the status of Daśaratha becomes a novel stage-device. Similarly in the Chāyānka of the Uttararāmacarita the chāyā of Sītā has been introduced as a particular dramatic convention<sup>1</sup>. Authors have brought into limelight their striking inventions in plot etc by naming their plays after them.

In the Dutāṅgada the Chāyā of sitā has been designated as Māyā-maithilī, a dramatis personae as shown below:

(ततः प्रविशति प्रहस्तेन सह मायामैथिली)

मैथिली - जयतु जयत्वार्यपुत्रः । (इत्यभिदधाना रावणोत्संगमारोहति)

रावणः - (स्वगतम्) साधु, भो मायामयि, साधु जानासि दशकण्ठमाराधयितुम् ।

अंगदः - (सविषादमात्मगतम्) अपि नाम जानकी पण्याङ्नाचरितमाचरेत् । भवतु विलोकयामि तावत् ।

रावणः - देवि, विदेहनन्दिनि, प्रतिबोध्यतां रामप्रहितोऽयं शाखामृगः ।

मायामैथिली - (अंगदं सबहुमानमवलोक्य) वत्स, अंगद, मम वचनैः प्रतिबोध्य राघवम्-

एषामुपरि कस्मात्खिद्यसे राघवतद्वज्र निजं नगरम् ।

दत्ताहं निज हृदये साक्षीकृत्य मदनमेतस्मै ॥ २८

अपिच

मयि रावणांकपंकजविलासहंस्यामद्य रघुनाथः ।

राक्षसभटैर्भञ्जितभरतभूषयतु निजराज्यम् ॥ २९

1. Sanskrit dramas have been often named after some special elements introduced into the story with a view to developing it in a novel way. Besides the above dramas, the following have been named after certain objects or actions which assume special symbolic significance.

1. the Mṛcchakaṭika for the clay-cart,
2. the Kundamālā for the garland of Kunda
3. the Veṇīśamhāra for the braiding of hair,
4. the Āścaryacūdāmani for the crest jewel,
5. the Ratnāvalī for the necklace of diamonds
6. the Viddhaśālābhanjikā for the statue of the heroine
- and 7. the Ratnapaṇcālīka for the puppet made of jewel.



In the above excerpt Māyāmaithilī is the Chāyā in the sense gathered from the following narrative<sup>1</sup>.

ततस्तेजोमयं रूपमसहन्ती विवस्वतः ॥  
 नारीमुत्पादयामांस स्वशरीरादनिन्दिताम् ।  
 त्वाष्ट्रीस्वरूपेण नाम्ना छायेति भामिनी तदा ॥  
 किंकरोमीति पुरतः स्थितां तामभ्यभाषत ।  
 छाये, त्वं भजभर्तारमस्मदीयं वरानने ॥  
 अपत्यानि मदीयानि मातृस्नेहेन पालय ।  
 तथेत्युक्त्वा तु सा देवमगमत् कापि सुव्रता ॥  
 कामयामास देवो पि संज्ञेयमिति चादरात् ।  
 जनयामास तस्यां तु पुत्रं च मनुरूपिणम् ॥

The device of introducing a Chāyā in the above sense as a tangible character had been in practice long since. The Rāmāyaṇa refers to the Māyāsītā being killed in the battle—field with a view to discouraging the army of Rama from continuing war further. While she was being killed she had been lamenting for Rama<sup>2</sup>. In the Raghuvamśa Dilīpa was tested by Nandinī by creating an illusory lion,<sup>3</sup>

In the dramatic literature there appears to be a gradual development of the strategem of introducing an illusory character. In the initial stage some character by magical ingenuity (इन्द्रजाल) adopted the form of some other character and played a role which the original character was not expected to play. This was done with a view to deceiving some important person in the drama. In the Māhāvīracarita Śurpaṇakhā adopts the form of Mantharā. In the Āścaryacūdāmaṇi Rāvaṇa, his charioteer and Śurpaṇakhā adopt the form of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā respectively. In the Bālarāmāyaṇa Māyāmaya, Śurpaṇakhā, and her maid servant adopt the forms of Daśaratha, Kaikeyī and Manthara. In this drama the author has introduced a new strategem also, which is slightly different from the above one. There by an artificial Sītā, seemingly resembling the original one was made to console Ravana when he had been anxious for her. A bird was fitted in the mouth of illusory Sītā to answer questions put to her. It was only on touching her that Rāvaṇa could realise that she was not the real Sītā. This was a puppet and according to

1. Matsyapuraṇa XI, 4-8

2. Yuddhakāṇḍa Canto LXXXI

3. मायां मयोद्भाव्य परीक्षितोऽसि III 62.



Rājasekhara it was later beheaded in battle—field to discourage Rāma from continuing the war.

Later on Jayadeva in the thirteenth century further improved upon this dramatic device in the Prasannarāghava. He introduced on the stage in the sixth act a Māyāsītā produced by the Vidyādhara through magic. This was done with a view to consoling Rama when sītā had been abducted and kept under the Aśoka tree. Māyāsītā is shown to lament for Rāma.

It was first in the thirteenth century that the term Chāyānātaka was used for those dramas in which the illusory characters were introduced. Subhata wrote the famous Dūtāṅgada in this century and specifically said about it:

महाकविना श्री सुभटेन विनिर्मितं दूतांगदनाम छायानाटकमभिनेतव्यम् ।

In this very century Somesveradeva, a younger contemporary of Subhata wrote the Ullāgharāghava which has been referred to by the author as a Chāyānātaka in the colophon of Act IV as follows—

इति कुमारसूतोः श्री सोमेश्वरदेवस्य कृतावुल्लाघराघवेच्छायानाटके चतुर्थोऽङ्कः समाप्त इति ।

In the Ullāgharāghava the illusory Sītā has been referred to in course of the following dialogue between Rāma and sītā:

रामः - (सवलक्ष्यम्) प्रियेश्वयताम् । इह हि  
मायाकृतामपि मृगाक्षि मृति त्वदीयां सत्यां विदन् न सहसैव मृतोऽस्मि  
यस्मात् ।

व्रीडाजडस्तदहमेव मृषानुरक्तः  
शक्तो न दर्शयितुमात्ममुखं पुरस्ते ॥

सीता - अज्जउत्त एसो विजणो इत्थ समाणावराह ज्येव ।

रामः - (विमृश्य) प्रिये कदाचिदस्मदोग्रमपि कृतविलूनं शिरस्तवाग्रं तैर्दुरात्मनिदर्शितं भविष्यति ।

Of unknown date is the Dharmābhyudaya of Meghaprabhācārya, which has been designated at the end as a Chāyānātyaprabandha by the author. In this drama the stage—direction is—

यवनिकान्तराद्यतिवेषधारी पुत्तलकस्तत्र स्थापनीयः ।

The Chāyā in this drama is in the form of a puppet.



The Hanumannātaka has not been designated as a Chāyānātaka by its author but it has acquired for itself the title of Chāyānātaka. In this drama illusory Sitā has been introduced as given below:

सभयं रणसंकट मुपलभ्य सप्रपंचम्  
पापं विरच्य समरे जनकस्य पुत्रीं  
हा राम राम रमणेति गिरं गिरन्तीम् ।  
खड्गेन पश्यत वदन्निति रे प्रवीरा  
मायामयीं शिवशिवेन्द्रजिदाजघान ॥१२.१३

The use of puppets for the purpose of the Chāyānātaka has been already referred to. In some Chāyānātakas pictures accompanied with letters were also used for dramatic purpose as the following reference from the Ullāgharāghava testifies in course of the dialogue of Vṛkamukha and Kārpātika:

वृकमुखः - सखे, कियदप्यन्तर्गतं मया रामलक्ष्मणयोः स्वरूपं स्वामिनो मनोविनोदाय  
पत्रपट्टे विन्यस्तमस्ति । तदवलोकयतु । (इति पट्टमर्पयति)  
कार्पाटिकः - (गृहीत्वा विलोक्य च) साधु महामते, साधु । छायानाट्यानुसारेण  
मनोहरमिदं मालिखितं भवता । इतिवाचयति

Chāyānātya characterised by a picture—scroll is quite rare in Sanskrit literature. There is, however, an apparent use of picture-scroll in the Prasannarāghava, a drama of the thirteenth century itself. In the first and seventh acts of the drama the strategem of the picture scroll has been introduced. In the seventh act the picture scroll has been painted to console Rāvaṇa, suffering from the non-response of Sitā to his overtures of love. Rāvaṇa has the picture in his hands. In the picture there are painted the sea, the army of monkeys under the command of Sugriva, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with bow in hand, emaciated Rama sleeping at the sea-shore, the sea accompanied with aquatic animals present before Rāma when the latter had shot him with arrows and Vibhiṣaṇa seeking shelter with Rāma. The picture was followed by two stanzas given below:

त्रासं मुञ्च समुद्र कोपदहनो रामस्य पास्यत्ययं  
बन्दीभूतसुरेन्द्रमुन्दरदृशामक्ष्णोरश्रुजं पयः ।  
कामं ते मकरीगणो विहरतामेतस्य लंकेश्वर -  
स्त्रीगण्डस्थलपत्रभंगमकरीविध्वंसिनः सायकाः ॥७.११  
अद्यैवास्य विभीषणस्य शरणापन्नस्य मूढर्ता नते-  
रानृष्यंविदधात्ययं रघुपतिलंकाधिपत्यश्रियम् ।



एतस्यैव भुजाविह प्रतिभुवौ सुप्रीवराज्यार्पण-  
त्रैलोक्यप्रथमानसत्यचरितौ सर्वेवयं साक्षिणः ॥७.१२

In the eighteenth century Rāma pānivāda introduced in the fourth act of his drama, the Sītā rāghava, a picture scroll in which Sītā had been depicted on the Citrakūta. In the picture she was looked upon as real Sītā by Rāvaṇa who wants to fall on her feet. On seeing his reactions Prahasta says to himself:

अहो प्रतिकृतावप्यस्यां सत्यजानकी बुद्ध्यैव प्रलपति ।

From what has been presented above, it may be concluded that during the thirteenth century Chāyānātaka was a name given to dramas which adopted any one of the following three strategems recognised as Chāyā-

[1] An illusory character played its role on the stage and the audience could not differentiate it from the real character as in the Dutāṅgada.

[2] A puppet was installed on the stage to represent a character as in the Dharmābhyudaya.

[3] A picture scroll, containing some scenes of the activities of some characters and a few stanzas, was studied by some characters on the stage. The characters in the picture created the same impression on the mind of the onlooker as if they were present before them in person.

There was nothing like a shadow play in Sanskrit wherein shadows were cast upon a screen between the stage and the auditorium. The Chāyānātaka is not an entra'cte or an abridged edition of a bigger drama.



## NEW LIGHT ON KĀLIDĀSA

Dr. T.G. Mainkar

In my '*Kālidāsa, His Art and Thought*' (Deshmukh Prakasana, Poona 2, 1962), I tried to develop the idea that Kālidāsa's name was Īśvarkṛṣṇa Bhartṛmīḍha and that he was identical with Īśvārkrṣṇa, the author of the celebrated *Sāṅkhyakārikā*. I had relied at that time on seven citations from the *Samjivana*, a commentary by Gharasīyāma on the *Uttararāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti (M.M. Kane's Edn. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1962).

Further supporting evidence is now available. Kamalā and Sundri, wives of Ghanaśyāma, have written jointly a commentary, the *Camatkāra-tarangīni* on the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara (J.B. Chaudhuri's Edn., Calcutta, Oriental Series, No. 30, Calcutta, 1943). In this commentary, there are thirty three references to kālidāsa. I enlist them below :-

1. 'tathā ca 'kuryām harasyāpi pinākapāṇeḥ dhairyacyutim ke mama dhanvinaḥ anye' iti Bhartṛmīḍhaḥ / (p. 11)
2. 'ata eva' vayam tattvānveṣāt madhukara hatāstvam khalu kṛti 'iti nātha-caraṇa-vyākhyāta-śākuntale' / (p. 27)
3. 'etat kathanam' svapno nu māyā nu matibhramo nu 'iti kālidāsakavana-cchāyānusaraṇam iti bodhyam' / (p. 34)
4. 'ata eva' caturasra-śobhi vapuḥ vibhaktam nava-yauvanena 'iti kālidāsaḥ / (p. 59)
5. 'tadidam' citre niveśya parikalpita-sattva-yogā 'iti nātha-caraṇa-vyākṛta-śākuntala-cchāyānusaraṇam iti jñeyam' / (p. 63)
6. 'ullasitetyādikam unmīlita-bhrūlatam' iti nātha-caraṇa-vyākhyāta-śākuntala-cchāyānusāri iti jñeyam' / (p. 67)
7. 'ata eva' unmīlitam tūlikayeya citram 'ityādi Bhartṛmīḍhaḥ / (p. 68)



8. 'atra kaveḥ purāṇa-nirmāṇa-śabdayoḥ madhyam śabda-viśeṣasya kathanam kālidāsa-bhāvabhūtyoḥ iva kṣantavyam' / (p. 90)
9. 'yadyapi 'kadalī-viśeṣāt' iti kālidāsa-prayogāt kadalikāṇdam iti kaveḥ pramādaḥ tathāpi aṇḍam vṛkṣamūle ca iti nāma-nidhānāt kadalikāyāḥ mūlabhāga iti samādheyam' / (p. 90)
10. 'tadetat' asyāḥ sargavidhau 'iti Bhartṛmīdhā-kavana cchāyānu-saraṇam iti bodhyam' / (p. 90)
11. 'atha sā kandukaiḥ...reme' iti kālidāsa-vacanena strīnāmapi khelane sampradāyāt kriḍanam prakramate' / (p. 93)
12. 'atra pātotpāta iti asya unnata-vinata iti asya ca paraviruddaḥ kaveḥ pramādaḥ' carācara-sthāvarajaṅgamānām iti prayuktavataḥ īśvarakṛṣṇasya iva kṣantavyaḥ' / (p. 96)
13. 'ata eva' śakyam aravinda-surabhīḥ iti, 'idam kavibhyah, iti nātha-carāṇa-vyākhyāta-śākuntala-uttarārāmacaritayoh' / (p. 98)
14. 'Khe khela-gāmī' iti kālidāsah / (p. 108)
15. 'ata eva' abhirūpa-bhūyiṣṭha 'iti nātha-carāṇa-vyākhyāta-śākuntale' / (p. 115)
16. 'ata eva sthitah kṣaṇam pakṣmasu tāditādharah payodharotsedha-nipāta-cūrṇitaḥ, iti bhartṛmīdhah' / (p. 128)
17. 'ata eva' rajanī-timirāvagunṭhitetyādi bhartṛmīdhah / (p. 141)
18. 'atra rathāṅga-ṇāmna iti vaktavye rathāṅga iti kathanam kaveḥ pramādah 'rathāṅga-nāmaka' iti, 'rathāṅganāmnoriva' iti amarasiṁha-īśvarakṛṣṇamiśrābhyām abhidhānāt / (p. 144)
19. 'akkhareti kālidāsādināmiva kaveḥ pramādah / (p. 147)
20. 'accariam iti kālidāsā-śrīharṣādināmiva kaveḥ pramādah / (p. 156)
21. 'ata eva' tapati tanugātri 'iti nātha-carāṇa-vyākhyātāśākuntale' / (p. 157)
22. 'khaṇe khaṇe iti Kālidāsādināmiva kaveḥ pramādah / (p. 158)
23. 'thambeti' kālidāsādināmiva kaveḥ pramādah' / (p. 160)



24. 'tadidam 'vayam tattvānveṣāt' ityādi śākuntala-cchāyānusaraṇam' / (p. 162)
25. 'vidūretyullekho 'vidūra-bhūmi' ityādi kālīdāsa-kavanānusari iti bodhyam' / [p. 164]
26. 'ata eva' saṅgatam śrīsarasvatyoh 'iti bhartṛmīḍha' / [p. 173]
27. 'muktā-kalāpasya ca nistalasya' iti Īśvarakṛṣṇa miśra' / (p. 175).
28. 'aparah paścimaśca asau' pūrvāparau' iti bhartṛmīḍha' / [p. 178]
29. 'jamadua' iti kālīdāsādināmiva kaveḥ pramādaḥ' / [p. 184]
30. 'rudra-viṣṇu-vidhindrānyaiḥ munibhiḥ devyanugrahe / darśaniyam sasitāmbu sampūjya madhu piyate' iti śaktisaṃhitāyām / 'tām apā-yayata pānam ambikām iti kumārasambhave / 'rāmo' śokavane pānam sītayā sahitam papau iti Uttara-rāmāyaṇe/vāruṇīm apibat acyutā-graja iti yādavacarite ca/yattu bhagavatpāda-kālīdāsādi-bhiḥ angīkṛtam asminneva yuge tatra teṣām tejovīṣeṣeṇa pratyavāyo na vidyate/na idānintanaiḥ evam vidheyam iti ṣiṣṭācāraḥ iti dik' / [pp. 187—188]
31. 'atra nayana-nipāta iti etat kaveḥ acāturyam 'sahasram akṣṇām yugapat papāta 'iti, mama nayana-nipāta' iti kālīdāsa-nīlakaṇṭhayaḥ prayogavat kṣantavyam' / [p. 211]
32. 'vāmam prakoṣṭhe 'rpita' iti kālīdāsaḥ' / (p. 216)
33. 'srīmatripuryam iti avyastāḥ prayogaḥ 'sarva śaila' iti kālīdāsasya iva kṣantavyaḥ' / (p. 221)

All these citations clearly show that to these commentators, the author of the Kumāra-sambhava (citations Nos. 1, 4, 7, 11, 16, 17, 25, 27, 28, 30, and 33), of the vikramorvaśīya [citations Nos. 10, 14 and 26] of the Abhijñānaśākuntala [citations Nos. 2, 3, 6, 13, 15, 21, 24, and 32] was kālīdāsa and Īśvarakṛṣṇa Bhartṛmīḍha. At times the name is given as Īśvarkṛṣṇa miśra.

If this is accepted as trustworthy and if it is also remembered that Svapneśvara remarks 'Īśvarakṛṣṇa-nāmnā kālīdāsena kṛtāḥ kārīkāḥ' [Hall Sāmkhya-sārā p. 29], then it would be clear that kālīdāsa's name was Īśvarkṛṣṇa and that he was identical with Īśvarakṛṣṇa, the author of the Sāmkhyakārikā.



In his work 'Guruparamparā-caritam' \*Rāma-kṛṣṇa Somayāgin describes the author Kālidāsa as a 'Guru', a revered teacher, and his life is narrated in five verses. I give below these verses:-

Shri deśikendra uvāca:-

ittham caneka karmāṇi vidvaccittacamatkṛtim/  
kurvanścakre mudam Rājñāḥ kālidāsakavīṣvaraḥ// 1.

Kvacidvedādhyāyī kvacidapi tadadhyāpanaparah  
kvaciddharmānbrate śrutibhiriha varṇāśramavatām/  
kvacitkurvan-karmānyapi ca vidhinā karmaṭhajanaiḥ  
sudhiḥ Kālidāso na calati palam cātmasukhataḥ// 2.

kvacitpūjādravyaiḥ rahasi vidhineśārcanaparah  
parāmbām svābhinnām hṛdi vikasite dhyāyati ciram  
kvacitmantrānścāsyāḥ prājapati tadarthānugatatadhiḥ  
sudhiḥ kālidāso na calate palam cātmasukhataḥ// 3.

kvacijjīveśaikyam vrajati haṭhayogābhyāsantaḥ  
kvacidyogam cānyānyāsuniyamanaiḥ śikṣayati yaḥ/  
kvacitsāṅkhyam tattvam kathayati param tanmatavataḥ  
sudhiḥ kālidāso na calati palam cātmasukhataḥ// 4.

kvacit-śārīrākhyam kathayati sataḥ śaṅkarakṛtam  
varam bhāṣyam yasminnikhila-gatatattvaikya-kathanam/  
kvacittvekāntastho bhavati khalu tasyānubhāvakṛt  
sudhiḥ kālidāso na calati palam cātmasukhataḥ// 5.

kvacit-kṛīḍanbālaiḥ sahacara ivāddhānukaraṇaiḥ  
kvacit-veśyāgāre ramata rasasṅgāracaturaḥ  
kvacit-vidvajjetā sadasi nṛpateḥ śāstravacanaiḥ  
sudhiḥ kālidāso na calate palam cātmasukhataḥ// 6.

paṭhet-kālidāsācaraṇavibhavam pañcakamidam  
bhavejjīvanmuktaḥ paragatamatirnisprhavaṛaḥ/  
sakāmaśatkāmānsa khalu labhate durlabhatamām  
cirāyukṣatskṛtiḥ sakalavibudhaiḥ ślāghitagunaḥ// 7.

[Guruparamparā:-Kālidāsacarita].

\* Shri venkateswara Steam Press, Khemaraja Shrikrishnaraj,  
Bombay, Saka 1829.



Without doubt, the account is altogether unreliable and deserves little credence. The references to Śārīraka-bhāṣya of Śaṅkara in the fifth verse is enough to convince one of the historical sense of the writer ! Possibly all the legends and accounts of Kālidāsa, that the author knew, have been thrown together. Kālidāsa has been described here as a man of varied interests; thus he knew and taught the Vedas, observed the ritualistic routine, worshipped Śiva as well as Pārvati and was a Yogin, a Vedantin and a Sāṅkhya teacher too. His contact with a courtesan is also referred to. In all this confused material, is to be seen a reference to a tradition that Kālidāsa taught and explained the Sāṅkhya: kvacitsāṅkhyam tattvam kathayati param tanmatavataḥ:

After all there may be some truth in this tradition that asserts Kālidāsa's name to be Īśvarkṛṣṇa and also points out to his close association with the Sāṅkhya. Further unimpeachable evidence alone can lead us to accept this tradition, But here is some food for thought !

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## THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR-A RED-LETTER DATE IN INDIA'S HISTORY.

*E. Vedavyas, I.A.S.,*

Mahābhārata is a National Epic and Vyāsa, is India's National poet, as Sri Aurobindo has rightly put it. The Story of the Epic is the Story of India's National Disaster, from which even after centuries of Foreign domination, she has not yet recovered her nationhood. The Mahābhārata also explains the Secret of the immortality of the Hindu way of thought and the remarkable resilience of the Indian Culture. It holds the key to India's Nationhood. To quote the words of Śrī Aurobindo "the solution of the Mahābhārata problem is essential to many things, to any *history* worth having, of *Aryan Civilization* and literature, to a proper appreciation of Vyāsa's poetical genius and, far more important than either, to a definite understanding of the great ethical gospel which Śrī Kṛṣṇa came down on earth to teach as a guide to mankind in the dark Kali Yuga then approaching" (*italics ours*).

The importance of the Mahābhārata Epic lies in its being a biography of the Indian Nation. The Date of the World War of that name and the Epic, bear the *same name as this country* namely 'Bhārata'. The significance of this lies in the fact that the Mahābhārata War is a great turning point in the life of India as a Country and of Hindus, as a Nation.

In fact, as Prof, Hara Vilas Śārada observed "the turning point in the history of India, nay in the history of the world, was the Mahābhārata, the death-stroke to Indian prosperity and glory. "The Mahābhārata" he further adds, "was thus fraught with world-wide consequences", and as such it was considered as a date to reckon with, in the story of Aryan civilization, a milestone in the History of Man on Earth.

In fact, it is the closing of one Chapter in India's History and the beginning of another; a new Age or a New Yuga. The Date of Mahābhārata is therefore a milestone in India's Chronology, a date from



which the Kali Yuga era is counted; a date which, to this day, remains the sole reckoning of time in the almanacs and Calendars of Hindu Jyotiṣa; a date which is constantly used in many inscriptions, edicts and Sanskrit works of old, besides being a date from which all other Eras of Indian History are constantly read off throughout the political and cultural history of India even to this day.

That the Mahābhārata War was a global War is little realized even by many of the scholars. Not sufficient prominence is bestowed even to the fact that the Mahābhārata describes world wide contacts with India which clearly indicate the extent of the Foreign relations India had, in the thirtyfirst century before Christ.

For instance, the Embassies of Foreign powers and their presentation of credentials at Delhi are clearly mentioned in the Mahābhārata. The Sabhā-Parva (Chapt. 51) clearly describes the Roman emissary as presenting precious gifts to the Emperor of India Yudhiṣṭhira, including costly presents for the Rāja Sūya Sacrifice, along with all the other kings who accepted the Suzerainty of Emperor Yudhiṣṭhira.

We need not wonder whether India had the sea power required to extend its influence to other countries across the seas. Even Vincent Smith in his Early History of India says "Ptolemy Philadelphos, who ruled in Egypt from 285 to 247 B.C. also despatched an envoy named Dionysius to the Indian Court".

Thus it can be seen that the embassy to Emperor Yudhiṣṭhira from the Roman empire is not an isolated case, but was part of the International contacts India enjoyed in the hey day of its Aryan Empire, very much like the position England enjoyed in the Victorian era of the British Empire in recent times.

But more of these issues like the foreign trade, scientific and other achievements of ancient India will be discussed elsewhere. For I propose to deal with them, separately, on each aspect. Let us return to the dating of Mahābhārata.

Sufficient attention has not been paid to the significance of astronomy in fixing up the dates of certain major events in history, scientifically. The reasons are two-fold, of which one is the general lack of familiarity of the average student of history with the fundamentals of astronomical science. The second reason is all the more significant. It regards the general attitude of history to the scientific approach. In fact, history stepped in to the aid of modern discoveries and excavations in the form of radio-carbon-dating and astronomical calculations. The



results of a realistic and scientific dating of the past, if more generally applied to many of the ancient texts and archaeological finds than is done today, the results would perhaps be nothing short of a landslide, overturning many of the traditionally accepted and dogmatically held views of historical opinion. The last is the greatest force to reckon with, because it is a sort of a public opinion, based on *personal authority* of the scholar. Most of the views of the historians, specially of the Vedic and Epic period, unfortunately fall under this category.

History is still to develop into a scientific discipline, if it is to answer the needs of an essentially Scientific age, which we claim ours to be. Attempts, however, are made in stray cases to fix up the dates of important events on the basis of *astronomical events*. One such effort, is a study of the dynasties of the Kali Age based on an astronomical Kali Yuga-Era of the Hindus by Sri Venkatachalam, which is remarkable for its erudition and sincerity in dealing with the subject. Another such attempt was Sri Bal Gangadhar Tilak's book "Orion" wherein, he employed the astronomical technique for fixing the Date of the Vedas. That the method is unorthodox, should in no way prejudice the value of the conclusions.

Astronomical dating of the past (a) where the material is of a literary nature containing references to astronomical phenomena like Eclipses, position of stars, planets and the Precession of Equinoxes, and so on.....and Radio-Carbon dating where (b) the material is more of the nature of an archaeological find, are two of the most recent ways available in dating the past. By the very nature of the above criteria Astronomical basis can be applied to the Mahābhārata. Unfortunately too many historians have already formed learned opinions with too little knowledge of astronomy. I am yet to find a history student who has made a deep study of the original Sanskrit texts on the traditional lines and with enough knowledge of Jyotiṣa, tackling these problems of history except perhaps, Sri Bal Gangadhar Tilak (Whose studies in history are however, largely restricted to the Vedic and Post-Vedic periods) handling the question of the dating of the Purāṇas and Mahābhārata with any amount of competency. I am sorry to have to admit this; but it is too often the experience of many of us to find scholars purporting to *depend on astronomy* actually depend on figures or calculations etc.. *based on others* and arrive at conclusions with a prefix like, "probably" or "most probably" and so on.

He is in most cases not in a position to know whether or not an astronomical conclusion is the right one but is eager, as a historian to express his opinion of it.



The Date of Mahābhārata War has a great importance in the writing of a National history of the Indian people. The importance lies in the distorted dating adopted by European Scholars and their followers, either due to ignorance or prejudice or both. The basis of dating Indian History, particularly of the Purānic Period and the Hindu Period right upto the time of Muslim Invasion, is all based on irrational fads of individuals, but not on any scientific basis of reckoning.

This realization has led certain authorities to revise the whole of Indian Chronology like Dr. Trivedi, Sri Kota Venkatachalam, Sri N. Jagannadha Rao and others. Two books "Indian Chronology" by Dr. Trivedi, and "Date of the Mahābhārata War" by Sri N. Jagannatha Rao clearly expose this false basis of the Chronology adopted by the Western Scholars.

Alexander's Invasion and the date of Mahābhārata War, are long considered to be sheet anchors in Indian History, because from these dates, other Kings or events of Indian history are counted e.g. the date of Samudragupta who was contemporary to Alexander as the "Sandrocottus" of the Greeks, and Chandragupta Maurya who was wrongly tagged on with Alexander's Invasion.

We shall now examine the more fundamental of these dates namely the date of Mahābhārata war.

As an illustration, let us compare, for example how different writers in history have arrived at, *their date* of the Mahābhārata, basing their reasoning on european historian's, Method of dating the Mahābhārata.

How inconsistent 'historical Opinion' of "Historians" could be, can very glaringly be seen if we tabulate the different dates assigned by various scholars as the date of Mahābhārata War, side by side, as shown below :—

|                                       |           |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| F. E. Pargiter and H. C. Raychaudhri. | 950 B.C.  |
| Altekar and Tarakeshwar Bhattacharya, | 1432 B.C. |
| A. D. Pusalkar,                       | 1400 B.C. |
| K.P. Jayaswal,                        | 1424 B.C. |
| Harit Krishna Deb,                    | 1400 B.C. |
| Girindrashekhar Basu,                 | 1416 B.C. |
| Radhakumud Mookherji,                 | 1415 B.C. |
| V. B. Ketkar,                         | 1267 B.C. |



|                                                 |             |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| H. C. Seth,                                     | 600 B.C.    |
| Raja Rao.                                       | 2442 B.C.   |
| P. R. Chidambara Aiyar,                         | 3038 B.C.   |
| V, G. Aiyar,                                    | 1194 B.C.   |
| Prof. Pradhan,                                  | 1151 B.C.   |
| Prof. Daphtary and Shankar,                     | 1197/8 B.C. |
| P. C. Sen Gupta,                                | 2449 B.C.   |
| Karandikar [Editor of Poona Kesari]             | 1931 B.C.   |
| D. R. Mankad,                                   | 3201 B.C.   |
| M. Krishnamachari,                              | 3139 B.C.   |
| D. S. Trivedi.                                  | 3137 B.C.   |
| C. V. Vaidya. Abhayankar, T. S. Narayan Sastri. | 3102 B.C.   |
|                                                 | 3138 B.C.   |

One wonders, whether judgments could be as wide as above, based as they are, on the same text, same data, and the same facts, regarding the antiquity of Mahābhārata Epic and also the date of the Mahābhārata War. Such conclusions, which could lead to such widely varied results, on the basis of same material, hardly deserve to be called credit-worthy.

Any system of dating, should be reasonably within a small range of variation. Only then it can be reasonably near the true date of the War. Such conclusions should, in a scientific age as ours, deserve to be discarded—and consigned to the Museum or the archives, to be only of a historical interest, as a museum-piece of human thought, fit no longer as a dependable method of dating the past. The trouble is, as one can easily see if one wades through the Welter of historical writings that personal opinion of history-scholars however scholarly, is very personal and is as widely varied as human nature can be. Historical opinion, is not also free from a number of prejudices, mainly as a result of the background of each of the individuals which are widely different; the prejudices may be racial, political, geographical and not a little due to patriotic, nationalistic or other predilections, fads etc. of their owners.

Such being the case, much dependance can not be placed on them. The time has however come, when history is too serious a matter to be left to historians, and it must be evolved sooner than later, *into a science* like Paleontology or Anthropology or any other Science, with a verifiable base, for its dating methods.



So far, for Indian Scholars. Regarding the Western Orientalists Sri Aurobindo sums up the problem, when he says: "For, it is no exaggeration to say that European scholarship has shed no light whatever on Mahābhārata beyond the bare fact that it is the work of more than one hand. All else it had advanced, and fortunately it had advanced little, has been rash, arbitrary or prejudiced";... "theories, theories and always theories without any honestly industrious consideration of the problem"...

"...But what is the remedy to this position?" He continues, "but it is *not* from European scholars that we must expect a solution of the Mahābhārata problem. They have no qualifications for the task except indefatigable research and collocation; and in dealing with Mahābhārata even this power seems to have deserted them"

[‘Vyāsa and Vālmiki’]

Two samples of prejudice which coloured the Western Scholar's view of Purāṇas will illustrate : Monier Williams says "The complete list of 18 Purāṇas given in all the purāṇas is absurd and must therefore be latter interpolations."

"The Purāṇas in general contain no authentic history; there is no plot, no finish, no humour, no wit, no poetry, but mere versification and combination of irrelevant and incoherent facts"—Rev. Banerjee.

Regarding the problem of Mahābhārata there is another important issue. It is the question of interpolations. One wonders whether the problem of interpolations has not been too greatly exaggerated than is justified. The result is that such venerable works like the Mahābhārata, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and Hari Vaṁśa are held with little respect, hardly better than any forged document would be in a Court, with one difference, namely, that in any law Court the accused would get all *reasonable benefit, in his favour of any doubt*, whereas the Purāṇas get all *reasonable benefit against* their being reliable. This unjustified slant against any internal evidence, particularly of Indian origin, cannot but strike any student of free Independent India, as smacking of the White- 'Sahib' mentality, the colonial mentality of the British Raj, of treating of "Natives" as hardly worthy of credit. I feel like repeating the words of Sir John Woodroffe, in this context.

"The institution of a coloured people particularly of a politically servient one are very likely to appear inferior to those without understanding and freedom from prejudice.... The extent to which from early times Indian civilization has been the subject of cultural attack and



scolding abuse is a noteworthy fact. All Asiatic civilizations have had their share ; but my reading of this literature disposes me to the conclusion that India has suffered much more than any other. Even in 1830 (to go no further back) Sir Thomas Strange ["Hindu Law"] thought it necessary to say "It is the duty as well as the interest of Britain to foster those whom it has become the unworthy fashion to undervalue and abuse. It were at least a more magnanimous course parcere subjects. Nor can it be a commendable one to irritate by insulting them."...

"A missionary author whom I have already cited has recently said : ['Christian Thought and Hindu Philosophy [by A.H. Bowman]... "It is not many years ago that the whole *literature of Brahmanism* was considered a *mass of intellectual and moral rubbish*.... Moreover, *political reasons have in recent years accentuated the cultural attack*.... Here two fact may be noted. The first is that there must be something peculiar in Indian civilization which is the *cause of this animosity* : and the second is the proof such attacks afford of the living force of this civilization. No one now goes into moral hysterics over the absurdities or iniquities of Phaenician, Carthaginian or Bebylonian civilization. They are dead and gone but India lives. This I think is due primarily to certain religious and philosophical concepts held in common by Her people...and as regards "Hinduism" in its technical sense---the wonderful organization called Varṇāśrama dharma."

One recalls, as another instance of racial prejudice, Issac Taylor's 'Origin of Aryans' in which occur views such as ;—

"He has asserted that the same blood flows in the veins of English soldiers as in the vice of dark Bengalis."

" More mischievous words have seldom been uttered by a great scholar".

We have Mill's History of India in which commenting on Manu's Law he says: "the division and arrangement of the Hindu law is rude and shows the barbarism of the Nation."

Of this remarkable book, Prof. Max Muller had to say : "The book which I consider most mischievous, nay which I hold responsible for some of the greatest misfortunes that have happened in India, is Mills History of India, even with the antidote against its poison which is supplied by Professor Wilson's notes. [ "India What it can Teach us"... Max Muller.]



"The whole of this review of the religion as well as the laws of the Hindus is full of serious defects arising from inveterate prejudices and imperfect knowledge"—says Wilson, writing on Mill's 'History of India'.

The mention of *barbarism* in Taylors words above, recalls to mind Archers famous words, which have called forth the noble work "Is India Civilized ?" from the pen of Sir John Woodroffe. Here are the famous words, with which the above book opens :

"Barbarian, barbarism, barbarous—I am sorry to harp so much on these words. But they express the essence of the situation...There are of course many thousands of individuals who have risen and are rising above it (barbarism), but the plain truth concerning the mass of the (Indian) population...and not the poorer classes alone...is that they are *not civilized people*," "India and the Future" by William Archer.

This is an attitude typical, which characterized and still does, not only the British contempt of the coloured races in South Africa, India, Belgian Congo and typical of the White man's hatred towards the Chinese as 'Yellow-peril' but more. There is a *deeper motive*, more sinister. What is this motive which makes the re-writing of Indian History correctly; a Cultural need, a need for political survival as a Nation.

"Lately, however, a *political motive* has worked strongly at the back of hostile criticism both in this specific class of literature and in the Press. ... If Her face can be made ugly, religiously, morally, intellectually and socially and in every other way, then the British people will not like the look of it. In the meanwhile do not let them be deluded by the idea that She has real civilized worth. She is barbarous. If other Western critics, judging the matter without political bias, have approved any form of Indian culture, steps must be taken to discredit them and to show they are all wrong or interested. ... For social and religious institutions are the body in which the spirit of ancient ideals are conserved. India is now about to be drawn into the world-vortex, wherein she must herself struggle to preserve herself. Until now England has been a protection and a shield. For had India been drawn into that vortex before commencing to recover her strength, She was likely to have altogether disappeared."

One can only feel sad for history which, in our own day, more than at any time in the past came to be written and re-written, to suit different political masters. Russian history after the Bolshevik Revolution, according to Western authors, has completely been rewritten.



Even after the post Bolshevik aftermath one sees in the books, Reviewed time and again, in the World of Letters depicting Russian events now in the light of Khrushchevian 'Revisionist' slant or again, in the light of Stalinist era or post-Khrushchevian period, often bringing to light alarming distortions, suppression of facts or even destruction of valuable documents or evidence which militate against the views ruling the day (Vide Memoirs of Khrushchev. LIFE.) Similar victim is the Hitlerian period of German History, which was distorted with a malice rarely equalled in the history of published words. Little purpose would be served in multiplying instances of the kind, of a disease which has too painfully been recognised by those interested in truth.

All this, only proves the *need* -- which is all the more urgent -- i.e. to rescue history from the hands of 'historians' and raise it to *the level of a science* (based on a scientific foundation which gives it a reliable margin of accuracy and un-tamperability).

## II

I shall however, endeavour to sum up, as clearly as possible, all the evidence, mainly internal, and secondly of inscriptions etc. available with other corroborating evidence pointing to a *date* nearest to the one which is indicated in all scientific probability. *No efforts*, however, are made to *conform to any scholarly opinion*, however reputed be the person from whom it emanates, (a) but to rely almost entirely on an astronomical basis. Finally (b) the *first reliance* is given to the *Mahābhārata itself*, which, according to Sukthankar, Wilson, Sri Aurobindo and Tilak, is the oldest authority. (c) Its *internal* evidence is *not* discarded unless there are glaring discrepancies or scientific improbabilities which can not be normally accounted for. (d) There is no need to seek or depend on secondary or second-hand evidence, unless the primary evidence is found unsound. These have been my guiding principles in making the following assessment of the problem of the Date of the Mahābhārata War, purely in a scientific basis according to the science of astronomy.

Let us therefore, sum up all the relevant information which has a bearing on the date of the Mahābhārata War from the Purāṇas. Our special attention should be directed to those references which are identically found in most Purāṇas. These are of special significance in view of their consistently occurring in all the Purāṇas.

I. We know from the original Bhāgawata Purāṇa that the Kaliyuga has commenced from the day of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's passing away from the world.



यस्मिन् कृष्णो दिवं यातः तस्मिन्नेव तदाऽहनि प्रतिपन्नं कलियुगम्

We may note the exact wording employed. It says (Tasminneva) तस्मिन्नेव तदाऽहनि which means that the commencement of Kaliyuga coincides with the death of Kṛṣṇa even upto a day. The Purāṇa does not say like our modern Historians, "at about the time" or roughly "about the period" or anything of that sort. The śloka is definite and precise about the exact day in using the word तदाऽहनि (from the very same day)

II. From the above, it becomes clear that the beginning of Kaliyuga is therefore connected with the death of Śrī Kṛṣṇa which has therefore to be determined, as exactly as possible.

III. The same Bhāgavata Purāṇa also mentions that Śrī Kṛṣṇa lived for 125 years of age.

Let us put aside, our own views about the possiblity or otherwise of a man living upto that age, as there are instances of people living upto 100 years even in our days like Lord G.B. Shaw, Sir Winston Churchill, and Sri C. Rajagopalacharya etc. So, we get the birth year of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as being 125 years earlier to the year of 'Zero Year of Kaliyuga'.

IV. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, further mentions that the Seven Sages in the constellation of the 'Great Bear' stood at the time of King Yudhiṣṭhira in the star "Magha." This śloka is also quoted by Varāha Mihira the famous Astrologer in his śloka in Bṛhat Saṁhita. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa also further confirms the same position very clearly.

V. Coming to the Mahābhārata itself, we have a statement in the Mousala Parva that the destruction of the Yādavas and the death of Śrī Kṛṣṇa had occurred 36 years after the Mahābhārata War. This clearly disproves Kalhaṇas theory that it took place 666 years after the Kaliyuga as without basis [for which hypothesis he offers no proof astronomical or otherwise].

VI. The same fact is further confirmed in the words of Gāndhārī also that the death of Śrī Kṛṣṇa would occur 36 years after the war of Mahābhārata, when she curses Kṛṣṇa, in the Śtri Parva of Mahābhārata as follows :-



त्वमप्युपस्थिते वर्षेष्ट-त्रिंशे मधुसूदन । हतज्ञातिः हतामात्यो हतपुत्रो वने चरन्  
कुत्सितेनाप्युपायेन निधनं समवाप्स्यसि

— Stree Par. 25)

VII. These above words of Gāndhāri have also been further corroborated by the words of Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself, who, having observed evil forebodings of time heralding the destruction of the Yādavas, observed as follows in the Mousala Parva.

त्रयोदशी पंचदशी कृतेकं राहुणा पुनः  
प्राप्ते वै भारते युद्धे प्राप्ताचाऽद्य क्षयाय नः

— Mausala Parva.

It says, that the thirteenth and fourteenth lunar Tithis of the *Hindu Calendar* have Co-occurred on the same day as the New Moon, which is a very un-usual phenomenon. Kṛṣṇa in the above śloka observes that the *above phenomena which occurred at the time of the Bhārata War* has again occurred, this time on an Eclipse day (as indicated by the words Rāhuṇā Punah) and says that it is for the destruction of the Yādavas as a race that this portent stands. It thus becomes clear that the date of the Mahābhārata War is linked with the Kaliyuga beginning, and with Kṛṣṇa's death --- a land mark in the history of the Hindus, he being regarded as a Messiah or God-Man like Christ whose death also marks the Christian Era (and whose exact location is uncertain.)

VIII. We find the following further details from the Mahābhārata regarding the year. It is well known, for instance, that :

[1] the Death of Bhīṣma the grand old man of the World War of Bhārata occurred on the 67th day after the commencement of the War. Thus

- |                                                                                                                                                |         |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| [a] The number of days he fought in war                                                                                                        | 9 days  |
| [b] The number of days he was on a bed of arrows giving the teachings in Śānti Parva.                                                          | 58 days |
| [c] The actual day of death of Bhīṣma is the 8-th Lunar Tithi, ruled by Rohiṇi Star at the hour when sun is in Noon position.                  |         |
| [d] That the sun turned to his northerly course in that Lunar month of Magha bright fortnight, [all these being clearly described in Bhārata]. |         |



IX. Hindu Calendar is always counted in Cycles of sixty years each year being a soli lunar year commencing with "Prabhava" and repeating in 60-year cycles. The astronomical positions have to fit in, with this cycle occurring within the longer cycle of Kali Yuga.

X. This gives us the death date of Bhīṣma according to the Hindu Calendar as Lunar year "Śobhakrit," in the month of Magha on 8th Tithi (Aṣṭamī) in the Bright-fortnight at Noon (the previous day or Magha Śuddha Saptamī being the holy Uttarāyaṇa day of sun's northerly turning for which Bhīṣma was waiting for 58 days. This gives the day of commencing war as the New Moon. Thus every word in the śloka about the day, Tithi, star and time of Bhīṣma's death are accurately confirmed by astronomical Calculation.

This corroborates the above śloka of Kṛṣṇa in Mousala Parva referring to New Moon being the day of Mahābhārata War and also of the day of destruction of the Yādavas (Amāvasyā coinciding with Trayodaśī or 13th Lunar day. (See VII above).

XI. The Mahābhārata War has taken place for 18 days, as is well known. That at that time-

(a) Bhīṣma Parva speaks of the planet Saturn or "Śani" as occupying Kṛṣṇa's star Rohiṇi. प्राजापत्यहि नक्षत्रं ग्रहःतीक्ष्णो...शनैश्चरो पीडयति etc.

(b) There was a comet (Dhūma-Ketu) which appeared in the constellation of Pushya which was Duryodhana's Star.

(c) Sri Krishna started for his 'Rayabara' or Yāna-Sandhi with Kurus as an emissary, to Delhi for a summit talks, or peace talks, which however failed; the day being *just after sunrise* on the star Revati, in the 'Maitra-Muhūrta', as the Mahābhārata says.

(d) The Lunar pakṣa was an abbreviated dark pakṣa of 13 days (the 13th Tithi *overtaking* Amāvasyā or the New Moon).

This gives in the Lunar year 'Śobhakrit' the lunar month of Kartika, dark-half as Tuesday (New Moon). This was the *commencing day* for the Mahābhārata War.

I am deeply indebted for the timeless research of Sri Kota Venkatachalam garu for the following planetary position (of the Rāśi Chakra) which gives the Horoscope, for the War of Mahābhārata.



|         |                                           |                         |       |
|---------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
|         | Ketu                                      | Saturn                  |       |
|         | Before the Kaliyuga<br>(B. K.) 36th year. |                         |       |
| Jupiter |                                           |                         |       |
|         | Mars<br>Moon                              | Sun<br>Mercury<br>Rāhu. | Venus |

(Planets in the Hindu Zodiac give Ketu in Meṣa, Śani in Vṛṣabha. Śukra in Kanyā (Neecha), while Sūrya, Budha and Rāhu are at the end of Tulā Rāśi. Kuja is joined by Chandra in Vṛścika which is a Nica position to moon who is aspected by Śani. Guru is in Makara also his

nica Rāśi. So far, about the Rāśi Chakra for the astrology minded.)

We are amazed at the exactness of the astronomical data given by the Mahābhārata and recall the words of count Bjornstjerna.

“if it be true that the Hindus more than 3000 Before Christ, according to Baillys calculation, had attained so high a degree of astronomical and geometrical learning how many centuries earlier must the commencement of their culture have been, since the human mind advances only step by step in the path of science ?”.

“No nation on earth can vie with the Hindus in respect of the antiquity of their civilization and the antiquity of their religion,” observes the learned Count.

**CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE :** Not only are the above astronomical dates given, which concern the Mahābhārata War but also other main events in the Epic go to corroborate the above facts, by their *Scientific Consistency* and *astronomical cogency*. They prove what the Epic already says in its other astronomical references. They are, briefly as follows :

(A) The coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira as the Emperor of Bhārata Empire took place from the holy hands of Lord Kṛṣṇa himself in the Lunar Year “Śobhakrit” in the Full-Moon of the ‘Puṣya’ month (which gives full moon in Karkataka or Cancer, aspected by Guru from Makara).

(B) He commenced the great Horse sacrifice of Aśvamedha in the Lunar Year “Viśvā-Vasu” Chaitra month Full Moon (the date of Yajña Dikṣā).



[C] The actual commencement took place on the prathama [Pratipat] in Chaitra month before the above Full Moon.

[D] Arjuna returned to Delhi after his conquest (Dig-Vijaya) defeating all other states on Māgha-Śukla Pūrṇima (Full Moon) along with the Sacrificial Horse.

**FURTHER CONFIRMATION :—** From the words of Queen Gāndhārī who curses Lord Kṛṣṇa to die in the 36th year after Mahābhāratha War, which again is corroborated by the words of Kṛṣṇa himself in Mousala Parva before the destruction of Yadus in the śloka already quoted, with reference to the 13th lunar day occurring as Amāvāsyā, it is clear that the death of Krishna occurred on the 36th year after War which is the Zero-year of the Kali-Yuga.

**BIRTH OF KṚṢṆA :** Now, concerning the birth of this great hero and Avatāra, Lord Kṛṣṇa who is the giver of Bhagavad Gītā to mankind, we have the following facts.

(a) That Lord Kṛṣṇa had completed 125 years at the time of his death. His birth year must therefore be calculated as follows :

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Year of Mahābhārata War} &= \text{"X"} \\ \text{Zero-year of Kali Yuga} &= X + 36 \\ \text{Year of Kṛṣṇa's birth,} &= X + 36 - 125 = Y \end{aligned}$$

[b] Therefore "according to the astronomical calculations of Hindus, the present period of the world, Kaliyuga commenced 3102 Before the Birth of Christ on 20th February at 2 hours 27 Minutes and 30 seconds, the time being calculated to minutes and seconds. They say that a conjunction of planets then took place and their tables show this conjunction.

The Calculations of Brahmins is so exactly confirmed by our own astronomical tables that *nothing* but an actual *observation* could have given so correspondent a result."

[c] Taking this as the basis we have

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Zero year of Kali Yuga} &= 20-2-3102 \text{ B.C.} \\ \text{The year of Mahābhārata War} &= 3102 \text{ B. C.} \\ &+ 36 \text{ years.} \\ &= 3138 \text{ B. C.} \\ \text{The year of Kṛṣṇa's Birth} &= 3102 + 125 \\ &= 3227 \text{ B. C.} \end{aligned}$$



(d) Sri Kota Venkatachalam, the astronomer Orientalist and historian has worked out that the Kṛṣṇa was born 125 years 7 months and 8-1/2 days before his death date or the Zero year of Kali Yuga]. Which gives us the date:

19th July 3227 B.C. at Mathura, at Midnight.

### VERIFICATION AND PROOF

Let us see whether this date and the above date agree with the particulars for the day of birth as given in all the Purāṇas which we all celebrate as the Janmāṣṭami Day all over India for centuries.

We know that even today, Kṛṣṇa Janma Aṣṭami, or Krishna Jayanti is celebrated all over India on the eighth lunar day (Aṣṭami) in the lunar month of Śrāvaṇa dark-fortnight.

The Bhāgavata (SK. 10. Ch. 3) states that the Prajāpatis star ruled the day of Krishna's birth. We know that Prajapatis' star is Rohini [Aldebaran] in the Taurus or the 'Vrishabha' Rāśi of the Hindu Zodiac. The Viṣṇu Purana which, according to Wilson, is one of the oldest available Purāṇas describes that 'Devaki' the wife of Vāsudeva gave birth to Kṛṣṇa as the eighth child in prison at Midnight when it was heavily raining [the season also agrees with the description] at Mathura in the Rohini star on an aṣṭami day (8th Lunar Tithi) in the dark half. Now if all the above calculations are correct, as given in the Mahābhārata at A B C and D above, the resultant date 19 July 3227 B.C. must coincide with all the following requirements of astronomy.

- i. Śrāvaṇa month
- ii. Dark half
- iii. Aṣṭami day or 8th Tithi
- iv. Rohini Star.

By a most surprising agreement all the above data are exactly fulfilled by the above date, as described in the Viṣṇu purāṇa [Ist Aśvāsa-5th Chapter 26th Śloka]. This clearly proves that nothing but an actual observation could have given so exact a description as given by the purāṇas.

This is also further confirmed by Hari Vaṁsa, a Khila Purāṇa by Vedavyāsa, at 52 Chapter therein, regarding Kṛṣṇa's birth. We are thus forced to come to the conclusion regarding the historical accuracy of the accounts of the Purāṇic prophecies. One feels, in the face of



such overwhelming evidence to agree with V.A. Smith who observed as follows :-

“Modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the Purāṇic lists, but closer study finds in them much *genuine and valuable historical tradition*. (P.12)

- The Early History of India by V.A. Smith [4th Ed.]

Not only does he disparage the tendency seen more today in our fashionable historians, to discount Purāṇic authority with impunity and in many cases, without adequate astronomical or Sanskrit back-ground to critically understand their valuable evidence, but further asserts that, “The most systematic record of Indian History is that preserved in the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas, five out of the eighteen works of this class namely Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu, Brahmāṇḍa and Bhāgavata, contain such lists.” We are forced to agree to this view on the basis of astronomical dating on the lines of the Hindu Calendar”.

But we are to make one correction in the above statement. These accounts of the Purāṇas are *not dynastic* lists as V.A. Smith *wrongly presumes* but are *prophetic* accounts of the future, as one finds in the Bible (in the words of Daniel, Ezekiel and in ‘Revelation’). The fullest prophecy, recorded, was right upto the Reign of Queen Victoria which was given in the “Bhaviṣya Purana”.\*

What do the comparative accounts of foreign writers and inscriptions say, regarding the above conclusions on the date of Mahābhārata War? What does the epigraphic authority say, regarding the findings based on astronomy? Does astronomical dating of Mahābhārata *agree* with *inscriptions* and Śāsanas of the early epigraphic findings of archaeology? One is tempted to ask. These, I shall examine next.

Let us see whether the evidence of inscriptions will corroborate the findings of astronomical calculations as given in the Mahābhārata (by internal evidence). This will be the final testing to the astronomical method of dating the Epic.

Aihole Inscription at Kaladagi district, Deccan by King Pulakaśi II, Chalukya dynasty says that the Jain temple on the hill was built in 3735 years after Mahābhārata when 556 years of Śaka Era have passed.

\* For details see Chapter ‘Bhaviṣya Purāṇa’ and ‘Is prophecy scientific?’ in my book “Wisdom of the Gods” (Ch. Book of Time).



त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः ।  
 सप्तदशतयुक्तेषु श (ग) तेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु (३७३५) ।  
 पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च (५५६) ।  
 समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥

This would mean that the great War of Mahābhārata took place when 556 years of the Śāka Era had passed.

|                |                                                                         |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| or 3735 - 556  | - 3179 before Śāka Era,                                                 |
| or 1822 - 3173 | - 5001 years of K.Y. upto<br>1900 A.D. (gives or B.C.<br>3102 for K.Y.) |

This would confirm 3102 as the date of Kaliyuga or Kṛṣṇa's death.

(4) Siddhānta Śiromaṇi an astronomical treatise by Bhāskarāchārya says that the author wrote the work when the Sālivāhana Śāka was 3179 years. It also means that the beginning of the Kali Yuga began

3179 - 1822 [Sālivāhana Era as on 1900 A.D.]  
 - 5001 years as on 1900 A.D.  
 or 3102 B.C. is Kali Yuga Era.

This as we have already seen, from Mahābhārata and according to Bhāgavata and Viṣṇupurāṇa etc. took place on the day of Kṛṣṇa's death 36 years after Mahābhārata War.

|                               |              |
|-------------------------------|--------------|
| The Mahābhārata War therefore | -- 3102+36   |
|                               | -- 3138 B.C. |

The statement of Kalhaṇa in Rājatarāṅgiṇi that the Kauravas and Paṇḍavas lived 653 years before Kali Yuga began is thus untenable; an astronomical improbability. According to all Purāṇas Kali Yuga commenced on the death of Kṛṣṇa. Or in other words the Mahābhārata War took place between the Kali Yuga and Dvāpara Yugas. This exactly what is confirmed by Vriddha Garga who says

कलिद्वापरसंधौ तु स्थितास्ते पितृदैवतम् (मघा) ।  
 मुनयो धर्मनिरताः प्रजानाँ पालने रताः ॥

The Matsya, Vāyu and Viṣṇu Purāṇas also corroborate the same fact that the Saptarṣis or the constellation of Great bear stood in the



time of Yudhiṣṭhira of Mahābhārata in the star Magha and that they move on at the rate of 100 years per constellation. Kālidāsa in his astrological treatise has this to say :

This book which was written for the benefit of scholars of Jyotisha has been completed in the Vaiśākhā month of the year 3068 years of Kali Yuga, the book having been commenced earlier in Kartika month (earlier sloka). It clearly proves that Kālidāsa lived in the year 3068 year Kaliyuga, or 34 B. C. (whereas modern historical *opinion* has consigned him to the fourth century A. D.)

Last and most conclusive proof of this date of Kaliyuga comes from another inscription of King Janamejaya the great grandson of King Yudhiṣṭhira of Mahābhārata and the son of King Parīkṣit. Numbers 333—334 Indian antiquary, this inscription says that Rājā Janamejaya made a charity or grant of land at the time of lunar eclipse at Kish-kindha. It also gives the following details. The donation was timed :

1. On the Lunar Year Plavanga
2. 89th Year of 'Yudhiṣṭhira-Śaka'
3. Amāvasyā or New Moon

This confirms, by astronomical calculation the era of Mahābhārata as 36 years prior to Kali Yuga thus

|                               |   |                 |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------------|
| Kali Yuga                     | — | 3102 B.C.       |
| Interval from Mahābhārata War | — | 36 years        |
|                               |   | .....           |
| Date of Mahābhārata           | — | 3138 years B.C. |
|                               |   | .....           |

This Corroboration has made that eminent Orientalist Count Bjornastern remark as follows:—

"According to the astronomical calculations of Hindus, the present period of the world, Kaliyuga commenced 3102 years before the birth of Christ on 20th February, at 2 hours 27 minutes and 30 seconds, the time being calculated to minutes and seconds. They say that a conjunction of the planets then took place and their tables show this conjunction."

'...The calculations of Brahmins is so exactly confirmed by our own astronomical tables that nothing but an *actual observation* could have given so correspondent a result.'



The modern astronomer and French Mathematician Bailly, observes as follows :—

“The motion calculated by the Brahmins during the long space of 4383 years (the period elapsed between these calculations and Bailly's) varies not a single minute from the tables of Cassini and Meyer and as the tables brought to Europe by Laubere in 1687 under Louis XIV, are older than those of Cassini and Meyer, the accordance between them must be the result of mutual and exact astronomical *observations*”.

In conclusion we are compelled to agree with Prof. E. J. Rapson as follows :—

“The Purānas are, usually fairly in agreement with the evidence of inscriptions and Coins, so far as the names of the kings and the length of their reigns are concerned,” (Ancient India, By E. J. Rapson M.A. Cambridge P. 117).



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## AGE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

*Amulya Kumar Bhattacharjee, Gauhati.*

The War referred to in the great epic Mahābhārata took place in Kurukṣetra. This War, which was of the type of World War of the day, was fought amongst the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, the Kings of Indra-prastha and Hastināpura respectively. In that war almost all the Kings of different Kingdoms comprised in greater India joined this side or that.

In order to ascertain the date of this great Indian War it should be noted that the people of India differ in opinion. Some people hold that it was fought at the end of the Dvāpara yuga, while others in the beginning of the Kali Yuga. It will be noticed that the Kaliyuga started in the year 3101 B. C. Now, if we accept the view of the first group, the date of the War can never be later than 3101 year B.C. But the fixation of the date to such an antiquity would be too wrong from the standpoint of History.

The Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas, if studied from the standpoint of historical research, play no negligible role in ascertaining the date of the war. It should however, be noted that no Indian scripture directly refers to the date of the war. Yet, in ascertaining the date their importance can never be minimised. It is known to one and all that Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, as the Indians believe, was an ally of the Pāṇḍavas in that war. So, if we can find out the date of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa, it would be easier for us to find out the date of the war also. The date of SriKṛṣṇa, who undoubtedly flourished in the Kali Yuga or Kali Era, can by no means be earlier than 3101 years B. C. The Varāha Purāṇa holds that Lord Viṣṇu attains white, red, yellow, and black complexions in the Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali-yuga respectively<sup>1</sup>. The Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa holds that in the earlier

1, cf. कृते सितं रक्ततनुं तथा च  
त्रेतायुगे पीततनुं पुराणम् ।  
तथा हरिं द्वापरतः कलौ च  
कृष्णीकृतात्मानमथो नमामि ॥

(वराहपुराण ३. १८) ।



three Yugas ŚrīKṛṣṇa had white, red, and yellow colours, and now he has attained blackness<sup>2</sup> in this Kaliyuga. It further adds that as long as Lord ŚrīKṛṣṇa adorned this earth, Kali could not show his prowess<sup>3</sup>. The Mahābhārata<sup>4</sup>, the Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa<sup>5</sup> and the Bhaviṣya Purāṇas<sup>6</sup> also maintain the same. A thorough study of the Rājataranginī, however, attempts to give a definite date of the War. It holds that till 1070 year of śaka era 2330<sup>7</sup> years have passed away beginning with the reign of Kāśmirian king Gonanda, the third. Again the reign of 52 kings preceding Gonanda, the Third is 1226 years. Adding 2330 years with 1226 years and further adding 653<sup>8</sup> years of the kali

2. cf. आसन् वर्णास्त्रयो ह्यस्य गृह्णतोऽनुयुगं तनुः ।  
शुक्लो रक्तस्तथा पीत इदानीं कृष्णतां गतः ॥  
(भागवत १०-८-१३) ;
3. cf. यावत् स पादपद्माभ्यां स्पृशन्नास्ते रमापतिः ।  
तावत् कलिवै पृथिवीं पराक्रान्तुं न चाशकत् ।  
(भागवत. १२. २. २४) ।
4. cf. पादेनैकेन कौन्तेय धर्मः कलियुगे स्थितः ।  
तामसं युगमासाद्य कृष्णो भवति केशवः ॥  
(महाभारत, वनपर्व १४६-३४)
5. cf. कृष्णवर्णः कलौ श्रीमान् तेजसां राशिरेव च ।  
परिपूर्णतमं ब्रह्म तेन कृष्ण इति स्मृतः ॥  
[ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण, कृष्णजन्मखण्ड, १३-५६]
6. कलिकाले तु संप्राप्ते सन्ध्यायां द्वापरे युगे ।  
कला तु सकला विष्णोर्वामनस्य तथा कला ।  
एकीभूता च देवक्यां जातो विष्णुस्तदा स्वयम् ॥  
(भविष्यपुराण ४. ५०, २२-२३) ।
7. प्रायस्तृतीयं गोनन्दादारभ्य शरदा तदा ।  
द्वै सहस्रे गते त्रिंशदधिकं च शतत्रयम् ॥  
(राजतरंगिणी, १, ५३) ।
8. cf. शतेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु <अधिकेषु च भूतले .  
कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभुवन् कुरुपांडवाः ॥  
[राजतरंगिणी १, ५२) ।



age passed away till the time of Gonanda, the third who was a contemporary to the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, and again subtracting 1070 years for Śaka era already passed we would arrive at 3179 years before Śaka era or 3101 years B. C., the difference between śaka and christian era being only 78 years. Now, Kalhaṇa, the author of Rājataranginī, holds that both the Kauravas and the Pandavas lived on the earth when 653 years of kali era have already passed away, i.e. in 2448 years B.C. Again, having based on the astronomical data furnished in the Br̥hat Saṃhita, he fixes the date of Yudhiṣṭhira's reign in 2526 years before śaka era ie in 2448 year B. C.<sup>9</sup>

Now since both the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas lived in 2448 years B. C. and in the same year Yudhiṣṭhira became the paramount king, it becomes obvious that the kauravas were totally annihilated in the Great war which undoubtedly took place the same year.

Thus, the fixation of the date of the Mahābhārata war to 2448 years B. C. would be in correspondence with the purāṇas, the Mahābhārata, and the Rājātaragini.

9. cf. आसन्मधासु मुनयः शासति पृथिवीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ।  
षड्विकपत्रच द्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्यस्य ॥

[ „१, ५६ ]



THE SIGNIFICANCE  
OF  
THE PURĀNIC SUNAHŚEPA LEGEND

by Yoshihiro Matsunami

The Śunahśeṣa-Legend (ŚL), which appears both in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (AB.) and in the Sāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra (SS.), is to be recited, in the process of the royal consecration, the *rājasūya*, by the hotṛ with the adhvaryu's response of "om" after each ṛc and of "tathā" after each gāthā. The *rājasūya*, itself is, as Professor Heesterman already proved, nothing but the dramatic procedure in which the Universe, being symbolized as the King of the people in the Vedic period is regenerated as a new Universe. The recitation of the SL. is carried out after the King's *abhiṣeka*, immediately before his final bath, *avabhṛta*, which is the exact moment of his re-birth, and concurrently the re-birth of the Universe. In the context of the *rājasūya*, the basic idea of which is consistent with that of the same legend, the SL. performs the function of a verbal contest.

In this paper, I am going to discuss the changes as well as continuities in the SL.'s function as found in certain Purāṇic versions especially the Brahmapurāṇa (BP.) the Devī-bhāgavatapurāṇa, (DbhāgP.).

I. The SL. in the BP.

I would like to begin with a summary of the SL. in the BP.

King Hariścandra upon being visited by Nārada and Parvata asks them the significance of having a son (3-4). They explain it to him (5-14a) and suggest that in order to obtain a son he should satisfy Varuṇa on the bank of the River Gautamī (15-18a); when the King satisfies the God, the latter promises the King the birth of a son, Rohita. On the immediate and repeated request of Rohita's sacrifice by Varuṇa, Hariścandra postpones it, asking Varuṇa to wait until Rohita gets his milk-teeth, then until the teeth come out, and so on



in turn [21b-23a]. When Hariścandra is finally about to sacrifice Rohita upon Varuṇa's final demand [32b-36], Rohita suggests that the King should sacrifice Varuṇa to Viṣṇu. Varuṇa becomes angry and curses Hariścandra with dropsy. Rohita runs away to the forest [37-40]. When Rohita comes to the same place on the bank of the River Gautamī where Hariścandra once asked Varuṇa for the birth of a son, he sees a brahmin, Ajīgarta, accompanied by his wife and three sons, among whom Śunaḥśepa is the second eldest. Rohita offers to buy the second eldest of the three sons, upon striking a bargain of one hundred cows and some other things, in payment, he returns to Hariścandra and asks him to sacrifice Śunaḥśepa in substitute for himself [41-60]. Hariścandra refuses, saying that Śunaḥśepa should not be sacrificed because he is a brahmin [61-65]. All of a sudden, a heavenly voice suggests that just going through the motions of Śunaḥśepa's sacrifice on the bank of the River Gautamī will bring about the fruits of the *naramedha* without Śunaḥśepa's death [66-68]. When Śunaḥśepa is about to be sacrificed, Viśvāmitra tells the brahmins to come to the River to satisfy the gods through bathing there [69-77]. Sunaḥśepa also, after his bath in the River, praises the gods, and the fruits of the sacrifice are achieved without his death [78-82]. Viśvāmitra accepts Śunaḥśepa as his eldest son, curses his own sons who refuse Śunaḥśepa's adoption and praises the other sons who agree with it. On the Southern bank of the River Gautamī, it is said there remain many *tīrthas* with the names of the persons connected with this story. The SL. in the BP. then ends with the thought that one who bathes there can always obtain the fruits of the *naramedha* [83-90].

Because the SL. in the BP., not only bears a very close resemblance to the Vedic version but also has some common words and indeed, at least one common sentence, it is easily possible to hypothesize the close relationship between these two versions of the same legend. But, regrettable to say, whether the BP. obtained the legend either from the AB. or the SS. at present seems impossible to prove on philological grounds.

The tense relationship between father and son, which performs important functions in the Vedic SL., is very loose in that of the BP. Even though the BP. contains a part corresponding to the so-called Nārada-gāthās, which emphasize the importance of a son in the AB. and SS., it puts greater stress on the importance of a father's achievement of aims of life such as *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*. and *mokṣa*. Ajīgarta, Sunaḥśepa's real father plays a very important role in the Vedic version. Yet he appears only once, in the BP. at the time of Sunaḥśepa's sale. While the Vedic SL. defines the function of a wife as the place or means to bring forth a son, the BP. counterpart does not refer to



that function at all. The Vedic mantras, which are very important as a transcendental agency in the Vedic version, are not mentioned at all in the BP., nor does any verbal contest appear. Actually many factors which suggest transcendental powers in the Vedic rendering are not given equal stress in the BP. But rather there appears in the BP. a different transcendental agency, namely the sacred places, the *tīrthas*, on the bank of the River Gautamī. In fact, the BP.'s SL. is mentioned in that exact part where many *tīrthas* in various places are referred to.

The word "*tīrtha*" has been used since the *Ṛg-veda* in the sense of "a sacred place." The denoted sacredness and good effects brought about by bathing at that place are rather more strongly emphasized in the Epics and *Purāṇas* than the sacrifices. From the view-point of comparative religion, sacred places are distinguished from other places in general and are considered to be the centre of the world where the first universal creation occurred. Pilgrimages to these places could be said to signify a return to the centre of the Universe for pilgrims and their subsequent re-birth there as new persons.

## II. The SL. in the *DbhāgP.*

Now I would like to centre discussion on the SL. as found in the *DbhāgP.* After a brief summary of it, a comparison to its Vedic counterpart will show the interesting peculiarities of the *DbhāgP.* version.

In the *DbhāgP.* SL., King Hariścandra, who has no son, visits Vasiṣṭha at his āśrama to ask the means to obtain a son [25-31]. The sage suggests that the King should practise asceticism in order to satisfy Varuṇa [32-37]. By means of his asceticism. Varuṇa promises to give him a son on the condition of the son's sacrifice immediately after his birth [38-48]. When the *jātakarman* of the son Rohita is practised, Varuṇa appears and demands Rohita's immediate sacrifice. The King succeeds in postponing the sacrifice by saying in turn that Varuṇa should wait until Rohita becomes one-month-old, until he gets the milk-teeth, until his *cuḍā-karman*, until his *upanayana* and until his *samāvartana* [49-7,15,54]. When Rohita takes flight after his *upanayana*, for the forest, the King becomes afflicted with dropsy on account of Varuṇa [55-66]. Indra, assuming the shape of a brahmin, checks repeatedly on Rohita who, having learned of the disease of his father, soon returns to the King [7.16,1-12]. Asked by the King for a remedy, Vasiṣṭha advises him to secure a substitute for Rohita; and a minister despatched by the King succeeds in buying Sunaḥśepa from his real father Ajigarta [13-23]. Sunaḥśepa is bound to the yūpa.



His own father, Ajigarta, is about to kill him for the price of a hundred cows ; But his action is denounced by the people of the surrounding area. [24-37a] Although Viśvāmitra asks the King to stop the killing and set Śunaḥśepa free, the King refuses, thereby angering Viśvāmitra (57-59). Viśvāmitra teaches Śunaḥśepa a mantra. When the latter bears the mantra in mind, Varuṇa appears and tells Hariścandra that if he releases Sunaḥśepa the King will get well [7,17,1-16]. Sunaḥśepa's release is simultaneously accompanied by the King's recovery from his disease. Sunaḥśepa then asks the people present who his real father is [17-22]. Some say that his natural father Ajigarta, is his real father ; while others assert that he should be Varuṇa's son. Vāmadeva says Sunaḥśepa is Hariścandra's; but the majority of the people finally agree to Vasiṣṭha's opinion that Viśvāmitra should be Sunaḥśepa's father [23-35]. After the adoption of Sunaḥśepa by Viśvāmitra, Rohita returns to Hariścandra from the forest [36-45].

This version of the SL., which appears in the portion of the DbhāgP, where the genealogy of ancient kings is mentioned, differs quite a bit from the Vedic version. Since Vasiṣṭha appears in this version instead of Nārada, the Nārada-gāthās are, therefore, not mentioned. Accordingly, the function of wife asserted strongly in the Vedic Nārada-gāthās does not show up. Some of the pretences for postponing the sacrifice of Sunaḥśepa are different, e. g., the *samskāras* of the *cuḍākarman* etc. The importance of the *rājanṛti* is highly emphasized in the part of the DbhāgP corresponding to the so-called Indra-gāthās that describe the various good qualities of wandering ascetics in the Vedic version. Śunaḥśepa is bought not by King Hariścandra's son Rohita, but by a minister despatched by the King. Rohita, who returns to his father's place immediately after the purchase of Śunaḥśepa in the Vedic version, comes back after all of the problems have been solved in the DbhāgP. Hariścandra is represented, in this version, as a wicked person who kills a brahmin to cure his own disease. Śunaḥśepa is taught a mantra by Viśvāmitra in the DbhāgP. version. This version is completely indifferent to the family discord among Viśvāmitra's sons in the Vedic version, which in the latter is caused by the question of whether Śunaḥśepa should be adopted by their family or not. The DbhāgP. version, moreover, has nothing to do with the royal ritual of the *rājasuya*.

On the other hand, the tense relationship between father and son emphasized in the Vedic version, is still mentioned, although sporadically, in the DbhāgP, rendering of the legend. Varuṇa, Indra, brahmins, a mantra and verbal contests appear as important factors bringing about transcendental effects in the DbhāgP. version. [verbal contests appear



twice in the latter version : between Viśvāmitra/Hariścandra; assembly of people/Vāmadeva/Vasiṣṭha.]

Returning to the contrasts, however, what is most interesting among the various differences, are the pretences by which the King postpones the sacrifice of his son. In the Vedic SL., the King delays the sacrifice by asking Varuṇa to wait until the boy becomes ten days old, until he gets his milk-teeth, until he loses his milk-teeth, etc. in turn. As has been mentioned above, some of these important moments in the course of the growth for a child are filled by *saṃskāras* in the DbhāgP. One of the most important significances of the SL. in the Purāṇa, though, seems to be focussed not on the enumeration of *saṃskāras* but on what takes place between the time of Rohita's *upanayana*, after which he flees from his father, and time of his return from the forest the *samāvartana*.

The *upanayana*, especially in the Vedic period, was not just a mere ritual through which youths wishing to study the Vedas became the pupils of Vedic teachers; but rather it was a very dynamic ritual which symbolically arrests certain of youth's process at an embryonic stage, i. e. as brahmacārins, through its ritualistic procedure. This fact seems very clear from what is mentioned both in the Atharva-veda 11, 5,3 and in the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa 11,5, 4,12 and from the symbolism in the *upanayana* itself. The reason why those who belong to the three castes of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaisya are called *dvijas* might also be based, according to my opinion, upon this same fact.

The *samāvartana* also, the most pivotal moment of which is that of the final bath when a brahmacārin is re-born as a *snātaka*, cannot be conceived, of course, as a mere ritual, simply symbolizing a Vedic student's return to his home. From various points of view, this ritual stands, as Professor Heesterman discussed, on a common basis with the *rājasuya*, *vājapeya*, etc. which are some of the *śrauta* rituals.

Rohita in the version of the DbhāgP. flees from his father but never appears in the story after having been under the influence of Indra except in the scene of his returning home at the end of this version. The role of Indra who teaches Rohita the importance of the *rājanīti* is therefore supposed to be compared with that of the ācārya in the *upanayana*, and Rohita who is absent from his father's side while being taught by Indra can be compared with a brahmacārin in the ascetic life. It seems possible to say that the SL. in the DbhāgP. is dialectically connected with the *grhya*-rituals of the *upanayana* and the *samāvartana*.

The common difference of these two Purāṇic versions of the SL. from the Vedic version is that the story of the latter, beginning with the



father's fundamental dilemma of having no son, does not give any complete and final solution even at the end of the story, while each of the two Purāṇic versions finishes with a final solution. What brings about the solutions is the merits of the tīrtha in the BP., and the rituals of saṃskāras in the DbhāgP. In other words, the final solution is given as one's re-birth either through bathing at tirthas or through the saṃskāras in these two Purāṇic versions.

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## JAGANNĀTHA AND ITS SCIENTIFIC EXPOSITION

*By Dr. Ashok Majumda*

### INTRODUCTION :-

All the idols of festivals in Indian Mythology or Religion have an inner meaning. The modern educated Indian Scholars and Western Philosophers pass uncharitable remarks against these without understanding the wonderful conception of the ancient Ṛṣis.

In the study of Indian Mythology, the description available indicates clearly that the seat of "LINGA ŚARĪRA" is in the brain. The importance of the worship and the peculiar structure of "Jagannātha" of Puri and the chariot festival to the "Vāmana (Dwarf) or the description of "LINGA ŚARĪRA" creates confusion in the mind of Scholars.

### II. HISTORY OF JAGANNĀTHA :-

To begin with we start with the description of Jagannātha. Jagannātha is the indestructible soul whom Śrī Kṛṣṇa has described in Gītā as Puruṣottāma. [Fig. 1] He is not divisible by weapon, nor be burnt by fire, nor washable by water, not destructible by wind. He is called Patitapāvana [the Highest Self] in Bhagawad-Gītā, Theologically Jagannātha is Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, Buddha and Nārāyaṇa all in one. He is both Mahāyānic Śūnya and advaitic Brahma. In no other Hindu shrine, are two brothers with a sister in-between, worshipped as in the temple of Jagannātha.

The legendary elements predominate in conception of Jagannātha and it is difficult to separate history from Mythology. According to the tradition, there was, in the beginning, one deity who was worshipped by the 'Savaras' [a generic term for the Ādivāsis]. A crude wooden deity instil fear, through which religions has dawned in the minds of the primitive people. The Dvaitas of Jagannātha temple claim descent



from the Savaras of the tradition. King Indradyumna of Mālava, who built the temple for the Savara deity cannot be traced in history (Mukherjee, 1969).

The history of worship of famous deities of Jagannātha Balarāma and Subhadrā installed in the temple of Puri Puruṣottama kṣetra, Śrīkṣetra or Nilāchala is still shrouded in mystery. Jagannātha as a synonym of Viṣṇu does not find mention in Amara Koṣa, a lexicon compiled in the 4th cent. A.D. For the first time Jagannātha as the synonym of Viṣṇu finds a place in the '*Trikaṇḍadeśa Abhidhāna*' of Puruṣottama Deva (lexicographer belonged to Orissa.) a supplement of the famous *Amarakoṣa* compiled in the 9th cent. A.D. (Mahapatra, 1969).

Similarly Subhadrā, the female deity of this Triad, is not mentioned in the literature or scripture of the pre Gupta and Gupta periods. She is described as *Ekanamsa*. The earliest reference to Ekanamsa as a deity worshipped by Rāma or Balarāma on its right side and Kṛṣṇa on its left side is in the 58th chapter of '*Bṛhatsamhitā*', an immortal work on Indian Astronomy written by Varāhamihira in the 5th cent. A.D. It is not yet known how Kṛṣṇa and Ekanamsa were transformed into Jagannātha and Subhadrā in the medieval period. Thus definite literary evidence about the worship of Balarāma, Ekanamsa (Subhadrā) and Kṛṣṇa (Jagannātha) is available from *Bṛhat-Samhitā* of Varāhamihira (Mahapatra, 1969).

The name Puri is really Puruṣottam Puri. Locally it is still called Puruṣottama (Oriya-Purustoma, Prastam). At the place of Puruṣottama or Jagannātha is the supreme place of worship in the Hindu world. There has not been, not is there still, any other place where Puruṣottama is worshipped. *Gitā* hints of Puruṣottama, therefore evidently refers to Jagannātha which had already existed and also been known as Puruṣottama. It also proves that Jagannātha, as has been indicated, is not 'Lord of the Universe' but Jagat itself worshipped as a person. It means Jagat-person. His images are different aspects of looking at the same thing. *Akṣara Puruṣa* is represented by Subhadrā of 'Daivi Māyā'. devine energy, manifest in the phenomenal world Virāt or Balarāma. The monumental aspect is *Akṣara Puruṣa* represented by Jagannātha form of the images. Subhadrā may here be the symbol of Unity, i.e, all is on the indescribable character of Jagat-person i.e. the universe worshipped as a personal God. (Das. 1969).

The three deities of Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha round whose worship Jagannātha Dharma has grown up represent the three Gods of Hindu Triratna (Three jewels) of Buddhism namely, Buddha,



sangha and Dharma (Fig. 2). Lord Jagannātha personifies Lord Kṛṣṇa, expounder of the Gītā, the Puruṣottama and the Paramātmā described in the Vedas and the Gītā.

उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः । (Gītā XV : 17)

अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः । (Gītā XV : 18)

and the parama Brahma of Vedānta and the Gītā (Mahānti, 1969).

### III. STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION OF JAGANNĀTHA

Why there are three idols ?

The soul has three phases

1. *NIRGUṆA* i.e. dormant as during enjoyment of deep sleep, without any contact with the outside world; Nirguṇa Ātman, though all the energy is embodied within itself.
2. *SAGUṆA ĀTMAN* when we come in contact with the outside world, when we enjoy sorrow and happiness and all other emotions.
3. *NIṢKALA ĀTMAN* engrossed entirely in bliss with God. Our three images represent these three phases of the soul of "OM"—ओ३म्

“अ”, denoting Utpatti (Creation) ;

“उ”, denoting sthiti (Preservation) ;

“म”, denoting pralaya (the end.) .

Our *Jagannātha*, the preserver, is blue in colours because he stands for the dormant Soul, devoid of Jñāna (Knowledge) of the outside world, *Subhadrā* is yellow when blue is fully drunk. In order to emphasize that God does not create by hand but by will power (Ichhā), Subhadrā the creator has not symbolic hands even. She is a female because it is the mother who begets of body. *Balabhadra* is fully white because at this stage the soul has attained full consciousness eliminating all attachment towards Tamas (Black) and Rajas (Yellow). He symbolises the beginning of the Mahākāla i.e. time and space (Singh Deo, 1969).

Jagannātha is worshipped in our images known and believed as four forms (Caturdhā Mūrti) of one God, Jagannāth. These forms are :-



1. *SUDARŚANA*, a pillar or post with indifferent colour.
2. *BALABHADRA*, white face with eyes and hands.
3. *SUBHADRĀ*, a woman, yellow face with eyes, no hands.
4. *JAGANNĀTHA*, black face with brilliant eyes and hands.

All these images are made of wood. They are renewed every 12 years. In worship, rites and festivals the order of precedence is as given above. They are popularly called, Sudarśana, Badatha Kura, Somandra and Jagannātha (Das, 1969).

Lord Jagannātha, stands at Puri as the Puruṣottama, the 'Supreme self of the Gītā in his Advaitic aspect, as also the Patitapāvana, the Redeemer of the fallen in His, Mahāyānic aspect. It is not without significance also that in the land of superb sculpture that is Orissa, this God has been kept deliberately shapeless. He declares through that shapeless form to all the world that no manmade image can ever pretend to represent Divinity except as a mere symbol.

And as a symbol of Divinity the image of Jagannāth is peculiarly significant with only two large eyes dominating His whole representation. He appears as the all-eye. He sees his whole creation at one sweep and from whom nothing can be hidden in the whole universe (Mansingha 1969).

In the upaniṣads, the Ātman is Vāmana. The body there has been compared to his car and the comparison has been described in detail e. g. *Ātman-rider*, *Body-car*, *Faculty of discrimination*, *driver*, *Senses-horse*, *Mind-their binding rope* etc. Jagannātha is specifically called *Vāmana*, when he is on the car [Das, 1969].

*Vāsudeva*, i.e. Kṛṣṇa was identified with the Vedic Nārāyaṇa and was called the world soul. His elder brother *Samkarsana* the individual soul, His son *Pradyumna*, the mind, and his grandson *Aniruddha*, the soul-sense or the sense of individuality. Thus in this 'Caturvyūha' or four forms of Nārāyaṇa the 'Caturdhā Mūrti' or Jagannātha was imitated Das (1969)

The great Lord Śrī Jagannātha of Nilāchaladhāma, Śrīkṣetra or puruottamakṣetra is a mysterious God. We call him mysterious because his peculiar iconographic feature together with his ritual and



festivals have neither been deduced from the *Āgamas* and *Dharmaśāstras* nor from any Buddhist or Jain convention. The religious literature of the Hindus, although vast and elaborate in describing the Gods and Goddesses, is silent about Śrī Jagannātha even though he happens to be one of the presiding deities of the four important religious centres (pithas) of India namely *Badrīnātha*, *Dwārakānātha* or *Dwārika*, *Rāmanātha* or *Rāmeśwaram* and *Puri* or *Puruṣottama Kṣetra*, situated in the four quarters of the Hindu world. It creates a doubt whether he is originated by the Hindus or by some other tribe. The anthropomorphic figures of Jagannātha with his brother, Balarāma and His sister Subhadrā made of *Neem wood* having been painted with different colours [Black, White and Yellow respectively], enhance the doubt which resulted in divergent opinions among scholars regarding his origin [Rajaguru. 1969.] He is also called "*Dāru Brahma*" or the supreme being in the form of wood in four-fold *Iśwara*. He is also called the four vedas [*R̥g*, *Yajus*, *sāma* and *Atharva*] and at the same time as the one creator, Preserver and destroyer. Some say he is in the form of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and their sister Subhadrā (Singh Deo 1969.)

It may be mentioned here that in *R̥g Veda* (X-81-4) the word wood [*Dāru*] is used to indicate the material of which the universe (*Jagat*) is made. Jagannātha is specifically known as *Dāru Brahma* [world substance symbolised in wood] by both the *Purāṇas* and the people [Das. 1969],

These deities have got a peculiar shape-neither human nor the like of any other creature. They have no head, ears, nose, lips, hands and legs except some symbols to indicate these organs. But inspite of these drawbacks they are regarded as superior to all gods of the Hindu Mythology [Singh Deo 1969].

All this creates confusion in the minds of the devotees. They do not know what particular God they are worshipping. Though the present system has brought catholicity among the different sects and religious denominations, it has failed to provide to a large number of devotees, a clear objective to attain. We must try to find out the image of Śrī Jagannātha as also of His Associates, Balabhadra and Subhadrā (Singh Deo. 1969).

Evidently the present images represent the same conception of Nilamādhava did but in a form more intelligible and acceptable to the ordinary worshipper. Nilamādhava consists of three words, *Nilā-Mā-Dhava*. It is pre-vaiṣṇavic. Hence the meaning given to it as *Dhava* [Husband] of *Mā* [Lakṣmī, goddess of wealth] which is *Nilā*



[Blue or Black] in colour, is an after-thought. Moreover in such an interpretation, 'Nila' is *prima facie* either meaningless or redundant [Das. 1969].

It may be that the colour of 'Mā' in *Nilamādhava* was indeterminate and the yellow and golden colours were devised and fixed for *Subhadrā* in the new scheme. The particle 'Mā', not a colour name between 'Nila' and *Dhava* may also indicate this [Das. 1969].

The colour scheme in the images and their make up are evident. *Jagannātha* form or aspect is black as representing *Śūnya*, darkness. His brightness of colour and eye indicate *chetana*, absolute consciousness. His hands indicate action potential. *Subhadrā's* yellowness as a woman is distinctly, *Drāvidā*. She is the *Śakti* immanent. Therefore there are no hands. Manifestation is all light, all action. Therefore *Virāt* is white with hands. Face with eyes and nose make the image representable as person (Das. 1969), (Fig. 3).

Nilakanta Das further says that "Orissa like many other parts of India was predominantly a *Drāvidā* country in pre-Vedic times. *Nilamādhava* appears to be a *Dravidā* term, adopted in later time by Sanskrit, when *Lakṣmi* became 'Mā' and 'Amā' [mother]. Like *Vaiṣṇavī* *Lakṣmi*, *Śakti* or *Devī* of the *Śaivaites* became *Dravidā* names *Ambā* and *Umā*. It is interesting to note that 'Mā' was the name of the Sumerian mother Goddess in Asia-minor more than 4000 years ago. Hence 'Mā' as mother is non-vedic. It is *Dravidā*. 'Dhava' means white. It is Sanskrit. Sanskrit *Dhavalā* [White] come out of it with addition of 'La' an analogy is *Prākṛita*, *Sukla* [Sanskrit-*Sukra*]. In *Oriya*, exclusively 'Dhava' for white is still used. Hence *Nilamādhava* means black-mother-white. Yellow as an auspicious and beautiful colour of a lady is undoubtedly and pre-eminently *Dravidā*. Hence *Nilamādhava* represents unmanifest-energy manifested. But in the name of a stone all this may not be plain to the understanding of the worshippers. To make the whole thing explicit northern *Vaiṣṇavas* took the images from the tribe of the place, planned and polished them according to the colour scheme involved in *Nilamādhava*. This was also made to tally with the colour scheme of the body of early *Ṛg Vedic* *Viṣṇu*, the sun God. *Ṛg-Vedic* *Ṛṣis* give a vivid description of it as the night sun Black; the meaning sun [*Hiranyagarbha*-golden pregnant women, or simply, golden wombs] and the day sun [white]".



#### IV. PHILOSOPHIES BEHIND JAGANNĀTHA CULT :

This topic has been dealt with in very detail by Late Pt. Nilakanta Das (Ex-speaker, Orissa Legislative Assembly) in his article "The Cult of Jagannātha". Here we are quoting most of it to clarify the subject matter.

The cult of Nīlamādhava was very widespread and influential. Its Vaiṣṇavisation was considered a dire necessity even in Mālava. The vaiṣṇavisation of such a cult, for the advanced Savara worshippers, their friends and tribesmen must have been a very laborious and judicious affair. The tradition also indicates, even today among the primitive Savara and Dravida tribes from Orissa to the further frontiers of Assam, wooden images with crudely curved and painted faces with or without hands are found in many locations.

Cuneiform writings of Sumer some 5000 years old have been read and it is found there that Triamat (Cf. Vedic Tamas, darkness) was the mother of creation. She represented 'The spirit of chaos' from which comes the cosmos. The name of 'The primordial deep' (The sky before creation) was Apsu (Cf. Vedic Āpas - the heavenly water, the sky). The Apsu was the father (Sumerians then were matriarchial). The spirit that manifested alive was named zee (Cf. Indian Jīva.) Sculptures of these early times have revealed clean-shaven and naked states of priests, who looked just like our Jaina monks or Tirthankaras. Authoritative authors conclude that they were either Dravidians (H.R. Wall) or Indo Aryans (A.A. Traver). They were immigrants in Sumer. They went either by sea or land or both with a highly developed urban civilisation which they imposed upon a primitive people of the land. The study of ancient Indus culture indicates that there were cultural and commercial relations between India and Sumer, the mother of civilisation in those lands up to Egypt and Crete.

All this leads us to the ancient Metaphysical theory of Void the primordial darkness from which came the creation. It was extensively prevalent among the later Buddhists and in a living cult associated with Jagannātha among the followers of the Panchasākhās of Caitanya. According to this, everything comes out of nothing. All appearance called the universe is the product of desire and action and if they are eliminated, that which appears like self or soul will become void or vanish altogether. This is Nirvāṇa (permanent Vanishing or extinction), so common a term among the Jains and Buddhists. The Nirvāṇa is attained by the practice of Yoga, a particular process of exercise of the body and its organ. It has been discovered that this Yoga was being practised in Mohenjodaro of the ancient Indus vale.



The *Jaina* cult is one of the most ancient cults of the world based on metaphysical speculation. The word *Jaina* comes from 'Jina' meaning conqueror of the senses and the desires. A *Jaina* is also called *nirgaranthi* i.e. Knot-less. Sentient individual was conceived to consist of desires bound up together in a big knot, difficult to untie.

As a *Jaina* institution *Jagannātha* means not 'Lord of the universe' as it is wrongly interpreted. It means 'Jagat or universe itself personified'. *Nātha* is a surname used by *Jainas* from very ancient times. Almost all their *Tirthankaras* are '*Nāthas*' meaning persons worshipped or honoured, e.g. *Parashanātha*, *Riṣabhanātha*, *Adinatha*, *Neminātha* etc. A sect of *Jainas* are known as *Nātha-panthis*. Hence *nātha* means simply *Jaina*. Similarly there is a *Gaddi* (place of *Nirvāna*) of a *Nātha Avadhūta* (*Jaina Yogi*) of *Konaraka* in *Puri* district. Descendants of ancient *Jaina* physicians in *Orissa* are known by the family name *Nātha*. They are also called *Nātha Yogis*.

Very early, an important section of the *Jainas* found the void theory untenable and unsatisfactory. Already there had been the theory of transmigration, of *Karma*, which was the ethical basis of the individual's action in society to regulate this universal relations.

A knot of actions and desires being born again and again ultimately to end in void, it was thought, must have a permanent back-ground-a substratum. This was discovered in the life force as a separate entity which originally harmonised into unity all the varied actions of the individual including his desires. This they called *Jīva* (Soul or 'zee' of *Sumer*). Thus *Nirvāna* or extinction became *Mokṣa* or *Mukti* i.e. liberation of the Soul from bondage. In this *Mukti* the soul became absolutely alone (*Kevala*) in its perfect absolute consciousness, as it was free from any connection with non-soul *Ajīva* i.e. matter. It is significant that in the cult of *Jagannātha Kaivalya* is the name of *Mukti*.

Thus among the *Jainas* there appeared two Main-sections one 'Voidist' and the other 'Soulist'. The remnants of both are found in *Jagannātha Puri*. The voidist section through their *Yogic* practices based on *Brahmacharya*, including strict celibacy and control of the senses seek '*Nirvāna*'. This they explain as the real worship of *Jagannātha*. This is the *Yogic Vaiṣṇavism* of *Jagannātha* expounded by the *Panchaśākās* as distinct from *Gaudiya Vaiṣṇavism* has a copious literature in *Orissa*, where it is now a living cult. Others it worship *Jagannātha* for *Mukti* or *Kaivalya*.



Yasovant Dass, one of the Panchaśākhins, explains as follows in his *Prema-Bhakti-Brahma-Gita*. *Sudarśana* represents great (Mahā Śūnya), nothingness beyond all conception. This may be explained as chaotic Darkness. This name implies 'easy to see' or 'easy philosophy' as it is a mere mental abstraction, the very negation of manifestation, then in the process of cosmic expression comes the 'Void', which is conceivable as the undifferentiated beginning. This is the universe in seed, so to say. It has been said to be void clothed with light, i. e. consciousness (chetana). This is Jagannātha or Jagat Proper.

In this absolute consciousness began the first stir for creation, desire and hence, differentiation. Matter (Prakṛti) the material cause of creation, appeared in the *Void*. This Prakṛti spread her five elements in the waters of the causal deep (primordial deep-Kālārṇava), where Kālā was sleeping (undifferentiated by events.) She at once became Yoga-Māyā (world mother) in Union. This Yoga-Māyā was *Pūraṇa* energy [śakti]. Kālā, the agent of modification and of change was yet inactive. Yoga-Māyā found that it is not possible for her to exist alone. She struggled for intimate union with Kālā who should be incessantly active. So she awakened him and made him strong and fit enough to be in union with her, now says Kālā, "If you desire union with me then you will be the prime mother. I shall be the father penetrating your body in eternal union. Whole creation will be mine. All manifestation in flux will proceed from me. In strength and power I shall be supreme. My name will be *Virāt* [all manifest]. I shall be called Ananta (endless) as no one will get at my end as well as *śeṣa* (the end of everything)."

*Yoga-Māyā* is Subhadrā, meaning good woman. Her popular name *Somandra*, (San, Samudra,) meaning Ocean seems more appropriate, to the ancients the space was celestial Ocean (Primordial deep).

*Virāt* is known as manifested form (Sthūlarūpa) of Jagannātha. As Kālā he may be *Balabhadra* (good in power). He represents perpetual death and destruction in change and flux. Yet in this power the universe represents harmony and beauty. He is good.

Kālā and Bālā are Dravid words. Samudra may have some connection with old Dravidā root 'Mud' (also 'Buj' in Oriya) meaning to close, to enclose. She enclosed the creation in her body and disclosed the secret of it to Kālā, who was in sleep.

Names of Subhadrā and Balarāma are often interpreted to be those of Kṛṣṇa's sister and brother. It seems incorrect. Jagannātha himself, Viṣṇu though he has been, has never been identified with Kṛṣṇa, nor has he been ever named Kṛṣṇa.



*Tantric-śaiva influence* is potent in Yasovanta's writing. It is a characteristic of the later voidists. In *Tantra*, *śakti* is between soul and matter. *Śakti* is *Yogamāyā*, i. e. mother in eternal union with *śiva*, who is called *Kāla*. Imagery of sexual union of *Śakti* with *Siva*, here, is again distinctively Tantric. *Tantra*, moreover seems to be primarily a development of the voidist Yogic school, in which the individual process of procreation had long been projected on a universal plane to explain world creation.

The voidist Yogis even now in their practice for *Nirvāṇa* make the individual their field of operation, in which the sex instinct is the basis of all creation. This is also called Tantric practice. *Tantra* is very old and is non-vedic. It is called *Agama* (coming from out-side) as distinct from *Nigama*, i.e. the *Veda*. Under the staggering impact of this Voidist theory on a universal plane the *R̥g Vedic R̥ṣi* utters in his bewilderment—"Did every thing come out of nothing? Then where? By whom directed? Who knows it? etc. (*R̥g Veda*, X 129). The effects of this impact are clearly traceable in the *upaniṣads* up to *Manu*. Even in the *R̥g Vedic* verse, referred to above, the *R̥ṣi* says that desire (*Kāma*) generally used for sexual desire, first arose within the void. That desire is the seed (*Retas*-seminal fluid). In this sense the voidist Yogis still use the term *Bindu* meaning seminal drop. *Bindu* in the sense of a drop is originally a *Dravida* word adopted by the *Vedas*.

Early vedic people do not appear to have any subjective outlook. The Voidists based their philosophy on the subjective experience. The soulist Jainas had long sought a permanent separation of the individual *Jīva* (Soul) from the *Ajīva* (matter) for their *kaivalya*. They considered *Ajīva* not as products of desire from void, but as substances other than soul. From this, the *sāṅkhya* philosophy of *Puruṣa* (Soul) and *Prakṛti* (Primeval matter of which all *Ajīva* substances are but modifications), was but an easy step. The name *Puruṣa* (person) is significant here, though it is very old. This involves an intelligent organising principle of unity and diversity. But these *Puruṣas* were still considered to be many *Jīvas* as there are in the world. The monism of *Vedānta* evolved out of this dualism with many *Puruṣas* who had been identical in nature and substance. In *vedānta* the *Puruṣa* becomes one universal soul, of which the purest and the most essential manifestation was *Jīva*. The *Prakṛti* was inherent in the very nature of the *Puruṣa*.

This Vedantic monism is the basis of the monotheism of the *Bhagavad Gītā* of the *Mahābhārata*. In this 'Param Brahma' (the universal soul) as supreme *Puruṣa* is the only personal God of worship, *Puruṣottama*. The entire universe of *Jīva* (Brahma) and *Ajīva* (Mahat



Brahma) is his self-expression the expression of his very nature (Prakṛti). This universe in change and flux is only to view Puruṣa in his aspect of manifestation. It is *Kṣara* (Perpetually changing Puruṣa). This manifestation is not an expression of the void. It is the expression of something, when viewed as this something and unchanged, the very substratum of this universal change, it is *Akṣara* (unchanging aspect of Puruṣa) *Akṣara Puruṣa*. The universal Puruṣa who is viewed in both these aspects is *Puruṣottama* the supreme Puruṣa or the Personal God of the worshippers (Gītā XV 16-18).

#### V. SCIENTIFIC EXPOSITION OF JAGANNĀTHA *vis-a-vis*

*Anatomy of Jagannātha, Liṅga Śarīra and Vāmana*

Here Anatomy of Liṅga Śarīra, Jagannātha and Vāmana is mainly discussed on the basis of Dr. Rakhal Das Roy's work "Ṣaṭ Chakras and their Anatomical Identification".

Our reasoning and advanced knowledge finds the end that this Universe apparently consists of two things *MATTER* and *ENERGY*. These two are not different but are really one and the same. In Vedānta we find that the ancient saints also started with these two conceptions of *JADA* and *CHAITANYA*. They also found the truth that this difference of Jada and Chaitanya is a false conception known as *MĀYĀ*; in reality they both merge in one point called *BRAHMAN*. It is interesting and notable that in the beginning of all the branches of learning the ancient Ṛṣis introduced the original concept of duality of matter and energy. The same rule has been followed in the study of human body also "यथा लोके तथा पिण्डे" and we find the description of the two bodies *STHULA* (Gross material body) and *SUKṢMA* or *LINGA* (Place of the body where energy merge) *ŚARĪRA*.

"*LINGA ŚARĪRA*" of the *JĪVA* (man) is formed with ten senses, *Buddhi* (mind) together with five *vāyus*. This definition interpreted its two aspects (a) *ENERGY* (B) *APPARATUS*. It is a known fact that energy cannot manifest without the help of an apparatus. Radio waves are all around us but we could not have knowledge of their presence, if we had not any radio set to catch.

In many books the *LINGA ŚARĪRA* is described as a small figure of about the size of a thumb and this body is very fine, ethereal and it leaves this gross body on death. *Gorakṣa Samhitā* and *Śiva Samhitā*



(5:75-76) support the view that in the human body there is a corresponding apparatus the *LINGA ŚARĪRA*."

चतुर्विधस्य चान्नस्य रसस्त्रेधा विभज्यते ।  
तत्र सारतमो लिङ्गदेहस्य परिपोषकः ॥ ७५  
सप्तधातुमयं पिण्डमेति पुष्पाति मध्यगः ।  
याति विष्णूमूर्तयेण तृतीयः संपतो बहिः ॥ ७६

(Śiva Samhitā 5:75-76)

The Rasa (Chyle) of the food we take is filtered twice in our system. The first filtrate nourishes the gross body, the final filtrate feeds and nourishes "*Linga Śarīra*" and the residue (wastes) escapes out of the body as urine and stool. Modern Physiology tells us that the chyle is filtered in the intestines and the kidneys and the stools, urines etc. formed are expelled out of the body as wastes. This blood is filtered again on reaching the brain through the choroidal plexus. This filtered fluid nourishes and supports the brain and is known as cerebrospinal fluid. (C.S.F.).

This is to be noted again, if ten Indriyas (5 cognitive + 5 conative) i.e. five Jñānendriyas and five karmendriyas' buddhi (intelligence), manas (mind) which make the Linga or Sūkṣma body be only source energy, then it cannot be fed and nourished by the Rasa. Therefore the APPARATUS "*THE NERVE CELLS OF THE BRAIN*" which is acted on by the energy producing senses, manas etc. is the Linga Śarīra which is fed and nourished by the cerebrospinal fluid, the final filtrate of the brain and positively proves the *BRAIN THE APPARATUS ASPECT OF THE LINGA ŚARĪRA OF THE ANCIENT SAINTS*.

In describing the energy aspect of the body the ancient saints had to treat of the apparatuses and the description of apparatuses would have gone with the description of the material body as they are all made up of matter, but the apparatus (Nerve cells) being connected with the production of energy were separated from the section of material body and were included in the description of the energy aspect of the body. *THIS IS THE MAIN REASON FOR WHICH WE FAIL TO FIND ANY DESCRIPTION OF NERVOUS SYSTEM IN ANY OF THE TEXT BOOKS OF AYURVEDA*, except balancing of the vitiation of this very aspect known as vāyu.

The APPARATUS producing the energy, that is nervous system has been described in the Tantras and Yogic texts, under this fundamental principle of description of the ancient saints, has caused all these confusions in the commentaries. *The apparatus aspect of the energy is the Linga Śarīra (or Sūkṣma Śarīra) i.e. our nervous system including the Brain and other parts.*



The *ṣat-Chakras* are described as to be known only by meditation (Dhyānagamyā). This description is a *KEELAKA* (i.e. a peg on which boat is moored). The various VIDYAS (learning) are compared to boats which help in crossing the ocean of knowledge and were used by the ancient saints to keep it secret from a common man. (Fig. 4). We cannot locate the chakras in our body but can imagine their existence in various places in the brain and the places can be pointed out in the dead bodies by dissection. The ancient saints described very definitely that these *ṣat chakras* are to be found in the apparatus aspect of the *Linga Śarīra*.

The word *Linga* means any particular sign in sanskrit. The hands, feet, head, trunk etc. are special signs of this gross body and if these body parts are found in the brain then we will be justified in calling it the *Linga Śarīra*. Our ancients often used to have the help of imagination in describing the shape of various objects. For Example, the figure of great bear is imagined with the help of a collection of seven stars in the sky. Far less imagination will show the figure of a human body in the brain. (Fig. 5a & 5b)

We will now try to find the various parts like anus, heart, Naval, penis etc., of this apparatus aspect of the *Śarīra*. Gorakṣa Samhitā (ch, 1, st. 76) has clearly stated the terms anus, penis etc. are located in the brain in association with the chakras and during meditation a Yogi has to imagine that the whole body from head to feet is located in his own brain.

गुदमूल शरीराणि शिरस्तत्र प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

भावयन्ति शरीराणि आपादतलमस्तकम् ॥७६॥

(GORAKṢA SAMHITĀ 1:76)

According to Modern anatomy we find that the brain consists of five parts Viz. cerebrum, mid-brain, pons, medulla oblongata and cerebellum. Now if we can imagine the *cerebrum* as a big head and *mid-brain* as the chest, with two protruberences on the back; in the *quadrigemina*. The *pons* represent a flat abdomen, the cerebellum is the buttock projecting backwards and the *medulla oblongata* represents the pelvic region with small two feet. This imaginary figure has been called *Vāmana* (Dwarf) in the *śāstras*. There is a popular saying in upaniṣad—

“रथे तु वामनं दृष्ट्वा पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ।”

This means if one sees the *Vāmana* (dwarf) on the *Ratha* (Chariot) he will escape all future rebirths. On this belief millions of people assemble at Puri every year to see the *Ratha Yātra* (Chariot Festival), because another name of *Jagannātha* is *Vāmana* (Fig 6).

The real significance however of this chariot festival is to see this *Vāmana* (dwarf) of the *Linga Śarīra* by *Dhyāna* (meditation).



We have imagined the *Cerebellum* to be the gluteal region. The superior aspect of the *Cerebellum* looks like buttocks (page 7). Now, let us see the inferior aspect of the *cerebellum*. Every one will admit that it looks like the buttocks of a human body. (Fig. 8). The *pyramid* in it looks like the scrotum. *Uvula* looks like the penis and the area below the *pyramids* looks like the perineum. Our ancient saints cannot be blamed if they have named these parts as per name of these organs in the gross body. It is in this *Liṅga Śarira* and in line with this perineum, phallus, navel etc. that we are to search for *ṣaṭ chakras*. Once this identification of the *Liṅga Śarira* is established all the description of the original ancient texts will be clear as daylight.

*Our head is the seat of brain and brain the root of all our motions, sensations, way of life, and this has been called the mūlam (Root). In 'GĪTĀ' Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa has described head as the root.*

उद्ध मूलमधः शाखमश्वत्थं प्राहुरव्ययम् ।  
छन्दांसि यस्य पत्राणि यस्तद्वेद स वेदवित् ;। (Gītā)

This perpetual human body is like an *Aswatha*, the Indian Sacred Fig tree, with its roots spreading upwards and its branches spreading downwards, and the leaves of the trees, the nerve endings cover the whole body. One who knows this tree is the true *Vedajña* (knower of the Vedas)—*Thus the head being the Mūlam, root, its ādhāra (support) is the place called Mūlādhāra*. In anatomy we find that head rests on the first cervical vertebra called *Atlas*. Therefore the *Occipito-cervical junction* is the *mūlādhārā*. Some practical Yogis call this place as the location of *Urdhwa-Yoni*. It was a mistake so long to call the perineum of the gross body to be the *Mūlādhāra*, but this place is known as *Adho-Yoni*. (Fig. 9 to 14).

Having identified the abode of the *Liṅga Śarira* and the *Mūlādhāra* we now will try to compare the other descriptions. It is stated that in this *Mūlādhāra* there is a *Kanda* (tuber), which looks like the flower of a *Dhature stramonium* (thorn apple). The length of this *Kanda* is stated to be 4 fingers which fully tallies with the modern measurement of the *medulla oblongata* (Fig. 15). Just above this *moola-Kanda* is the organ *Kalpa-Yoni* which has been described as looking like an egg of a bird and is about 4 fingers broad. The *Pons* is located just above *medulla oblongata* and the ventral aspect of the *pons* really look like an egg (Fig. 16). The description that a white, plaited, cloth like substance is spread on the *Kalpa-Yoni* fully tallies with the modern description of the *Piameter* a covering of the brain.

On the western face, dorsal aspect of this *Moola-Kanda* and the *Kalpa-Yoni* are two triangles which are seen on the upper part of spinal



medulla, the hind and mid brains exposed from behind. The two triangles, one with apex up and the other with apex down and with their bases over-lapping each other and thus forming into a six cornered rhomboid figure is clearly seen here. *Thus the modern name of the Yoni-Sthāna is the floor of the fourth ventricle* (Fig. 17). The nādis (nerves) are said to have their origin here. The two thalami are the two large eyes (Fig. 18 & 19). The thalami are the seat of connection with cerebral cortex of all sensory impulses.

The peculiarities of the forms of worship prevalent in the temple of Jagannātha, prove that from the physiological functions of these parts of the brain these have grown. In the temple the deity is offered Bhog (Eatables), 50 times within the 24 hours. There is no special pooja for the pilgrims; they simply see the deity and partake of the prasāda. The offering to the deity are 50 letters“ (अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ लृ ए ऐ ओ औ क ख ग घ ङ च छ ज झ ञ ट ठ ड ढ ण त थ द ध न प फ ब भ म य र ल व श ष स ह ञं अः क्ष)” of the Sanskrit alphabet which express all sensations in the 50 Bhogas. The name Jagannātha implies the Lord of the universe. He is the supreme Lord from whose Kinetic energy has developed the 50 letters of the alphabet as well as this universe of the five tatvas (Pañcabhūtas), Kṣiti, Āpas, Agni, Marut and Vyoma.

The Ṛṣis have always advised the students of Yoga to fix their attention on the energy aspect of these apparatuses. That is why we find that the innumerable commentators of the original śāstra have only been describing the energy aspect, and completely ignoring the apparatus aspect but that is also essential has been definitely mentioned in the ślokas of Gorakṣa Samhitā, Yoga Svarodaya etc. It is astounding to find that the great Ṛṣis (saints) have described the whole nervous system, both central and autonomic. It is astounding to find this accurate deep anatomical and physiological knowledge in the writings of the ancient saints even before the birth of Lord Buddha.

Unfortunately, it has become very difficult to get a well connected description as many important works on Yoga and Tantra are lost, some being known only by their names and from the scattered quotations in other available works. Loose translation of many Sanskrit works caused a lot of confusion and so long the failure to identify the Yogic terms in the gross body was responsible for the confusion.

The earliest exposition of this Bhāgavata Dharma, which is Agamic and, therefore, non-vedic, is found in the Mahābhārata (last 18 chapters of Śāntiparva). There it is said that Nārada got all its mysterious symbolism (Sarahasya) and all its forms with their significance (Sasamgraha) from Nārāyaṇa, who is in fact (Sākṣāt) i.e. none else but, Jagannātha, or



in other words, Jagannātha himself appeared as Nārāyaṇa and revealed it to Nārada. It is further said there that it is this Dharma that has been narrated briefly systematically in the 'Hari Gitā', i.e. the Bhagavad Gitā (Das, 1969).

In Kūrma Purāṇa and *Ratha Tritaya Parikṣā*, the Puruṣa of Sāṅkhya has been called Nārāyaṇa and the Prakṛti has been described under the name of Haimavati. Nārāyaṇa is the Ādhāra (Base) and the abode of energy. The word Nārāyaṇa is derived from the root Nara, meaning water or Jñāna (knowledge) and Ayana meaning abode. So the word Nārāyaṇa means one whose abode is in water, or one who is the abode of knowledge. Whatever meaning is taken, it is clear that our complete brain has been called Nārāyaṇa, the brain is the seat of our knowledge and it is floating in the cerebrospinal fluid within the body cavity of the head. The nervous energy therefore is Prakṛti or Haimavati.

The Great one Brahman is not only omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient. He is beyond the limits of language and mind which are kinetic manifestations of the energy whereas he is the potential form converted into kinetic. We know that energy cannot be observed if it does not act on a base of a substance. Therefore, with the conversion of energy into kinetic form, the conception of a base also becomes essential. The great one himself was considered to act as the base. From this conception developed the teaching of Sāṅkhya.

Therefore, the very first conception of the beginning of creation, that is when potential was converted into kinetic, was of two different Ideas namely (1) the Ādhāra, and (2) the energy.

Energy may be many or one but we have only ten organs of senses for catching and appreciating the energy, so it is automatically classified under ten heads. These 10 different types of energy have been described by the Ṛṣis as the ten Mahāvidyās. The sound is the first manifestation of energy and these ten types of energy acting on the five tattvas known as kṣiti, Āpas, Tejas, Marut and Vyoma produce  $5 \times 10 = 50$  different types of sound. When the first conversion of potential into kinetic takes place, a sound is produced which has been called om; and as the conception of Ādhāra and energy grew after this conversion, all the 50 varieties of sound were formed, they have been described as if coming out of the first sound Om. These 50 sounds are the alphabets of the Sanskrit language. As the whole universe is the outcome of sounds these 50 letters of the Sanskrit alphabet are called *Mārkā*, the *Mother of the World*.



## VI ŚABDA BRAHMA :

The scientific explanation of Śabda Brahma is that to produce the sound of 50 alphabets of Sanskrit we need different forces, to produce Vibration, in association with the movements of the tongue, lips, teeth etc. This force is due to some energy inside and *the motion of this energy is called Śabda*. In meditation when the mind is in unity, there is no flow of thought and the mind is in Bindu (Point). When the flow of the thought, that is the motion of Vāyu occurs, the motion of energy takes place and this energy is responsible for the production of the sound of Vibrations of the 50 alphabets. This is the reason why each alphabet has different śakti in Mantras. Air is the Ādhārā or an apparatus through which it flows but the vibration of energy in Ākāśa (Space) is root cause for the production of the sound. We know Radio waves do not need air for its transmission and we can know it only through a Radio which is also an *energy and the motion of it is known as Śabda*. It may be noted that between Earth and Moon there is no air but still we can hear voices of the astronauts, when they speak from the Moon through electronic devices.

## VII UNIVERSALITY OF JAGANNĀTHA PHILOSOPHY :

The true source of Jagannātha's undying hold upon the Hindu race consists in the fact that he is the God of the people. The poor outcaste learns that there is a city on the far Eastern shore, in which priest and the peasant are equal in the presence of the Lord thousands of pilgrims every year join in the sacrament of eating the holy food, the sanctity of which overlaps all barriers of caste, for a Puri priest will receive food even from a low caste Hindu. The worship of Jagannātha aims at a catholicism which embraces every form of Indian belief and conception of every Indian Deity (P 21-Mansinha, Mayadhar. 1969).

The real worship of Jagannātha is, as people do when he is on the car during the festival, as that kind of worship done alone frees man from re-birth. Unlike the other festivals, in car festival Jagannātha comes out in his own wooden images and there the worship is universal without consideration of caste or even creed. No priest intervenes and people freely embrace the images just as we do a brother or a friend. Here it is that the descendants of the primitive Savara worshippers are in sole charge of the images and the Rāja does the duties of a sweeper to the God. (P 27-Das, Nilakanta, 1969).

The voidist devotees of Jagannātha in their Yogic Vaiṣṇavism call themselves Buddha (Buddhist) and both the voidists and soulists worship Jagannātha as Bauddhāvātara, which means Buddha himself incarnated, or incarnation of Viṣṇu or Buddha (P 29-Das, Nilakanta, 1969).



In this *international aspect* Jagannātha Dharma stands for universal peace and goodwill on earth, universal happiness and welfare for mankind and universal tolerance for the world. This is the message of Jagannātha Dharma for the world. In the *Vedas* great emphasis is placed on *Śānti* mantra or the prayer of the universal peace, which is regarded to be chanted everyday in the Jagannātha temple of Puri at the time of worship of the deities. This mantra reads as follows :—Let there be peace at space, let there be peace in the solar universe, let there be peace on earth, let there be peace on the waters, *let there be peace in medicinal herbs, that is, let the medicinal herbs yield the properties and results expected of them and let them not act differently on different human systems*; let there be peace in the plant world and the human system; let there be peace in the plant world and the animal world that is, let them not behave erratically. The conception of universal and all-comprehensive peace for which prayers are addressed to Lord Jagannātha here is very significant. (P 8-Mahanti, P. N. 1969).

## VII CONCLUSION

The figure of Jagannātha is peculiar in comparison to the beautiful sculptural figures in Orissa. The question arises as to why the peculiar, odd shaped figures were made is a very controversial subject.

Alice Boner says "The artist (Sādhaka, Mantrin or Yogin, as he is variously and significantly called) after ceremonial purification is to proceed to a solitary place. There he is to perform the "Seven fold office", beginning with the invocation of the hosts of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and the offering to them of real or imaginary flowers. Then he must realise in thought the four (Infinite) modes of friendliness, compassion, sympathy, impartiality. Then he must meditate upon the emptiness (Śūnyatā) or non-existence of all things, for by the fire of the idea of the abyss, it is said, these are destroyed beyond recovery the five factors of Ego-consciousness. Then only should he invoke the desired divinity by the utterance of the appropriate seed word (Bija) and should identify himself completely with the divinity to be represented. Then finally, on pronouncing the Dhyāna-mantram, in which the attributes are defined the divinity appears, visibly; "Like a reflection" or "As in a dream", and this brilliant image is the artist's model".

He knows Śakti as in speech and Rūpa ; Rūpa has a lasting effect where sound energy stands for very short period.

Further we know that Tantric cult has developed after having Yogic Siddhi (Success) and Mantra works only when these siddha



people pronounce the śloka after having the clear knowledge of Mātrkāś and Astrology. We also know that the earliest reference available on Goddess Kālī is in Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (10th Cent. A.D.) Again we find that she has 18 different forms like Tāra, Chinnamasta (Fig. 20) etc. The question arises as why then the different forms of Kālī came. The simple logic behind this is that when a person has control over the Śakti (energy) he is called siddha and these siddha people used to give rūpa to the Śakti. So different siddha people had different artistic taste and according to their ideas they gave different shapes to Kālī. Similarly it is supposed that these peculiar figures in Jagannātha Temple were formed by a highly siddha (Tantric) person to form the replica of the Liṅga Śarīra which is located in the human brain. This paper in the end tries to define the Liṅga Śarīra anatomically and also puts the scientific exposition juxtaposed there in the Liṅga Śarīra, referred to in *Ayurvedic Classics*, to clarify the controversies prevalent amongst the scholars.

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## JAGANNĀTH :

### THE SYMBOL OF UNIVERSAL FRATERNITY

*Dr. Benimadhab Padhi; Dept of Oriya, Berhampur*

Indians are proud of their antiquity and their culture. Some have suggested that pre-Aryan culture was posterior to theirs. They have even assumed that India was the mother-fount of all civilisations whence all the basic ideas spread to other parts of the world. Such claims may be exaggerated and thus may be regarded as an over-estimation. But it remains a fact that Indian culture dates back to the hoary and dim past to which no exact date can reasonably be ascribed. It has been largely determined and shaped through the ages by the influences of the Indian way of life, thought, social behaviour and religious beliefs.

The word 'culture' is variously understood with reference to different branches of academic discretives like history, literature, anthropology and such other social studies. Sometimes it is interpreted as tradition or the way of life or group behavior. But 'SANSKRIT' the Indian equivalent of 'culture', has a very wide connotation, inasmuch as it embraces every thing pertaining to the life of the peoples. Through this interpretation Indian culture can be explained lucidly.

Indian culture is a vast Ocean which absorbs all the river-like external elements without discrimination of time or place. This power not only permits the new to enter into it but, having entered, even to maintain its dignified individuality. Scholars are trying hard to discover this fact through their researches on the civilisations of various nations. Their attempts are, of course, laudable; but if they could know the essence hidden in the worship of Sri Jagannāth at Puri their work could be made far easier.

Unlike the culture of the present day, it is not easy to understand that of the distant past. Historical data are so scanty that one cannot have a definite idea about it. For this purpose investigations are conducted into the architecture of Ellora, the inscriptions of Jaugada, the excavations of Mohenjadarō, and the R̥gvedas, the Zend-Avestas and



the Tripitakas. Their findings show that all the cultural excellences in various ages bear at their very centre the stamp of our ancient past. But no one of them individually can represent the whole gamut of Indian culture, though each has some valuable property of ancient India. Only Sri Jagannāth of Puri clearly and adequately symbolises the entire culture of human society through Indian culture and through Him only one can easily unfold the secret of the human mind.

Though there are so many opinions about the origin and worship of Sri Jagannāth (because different critics try to prove Him as the symbol of different isms like Jainism, Brahmanism, Śaivism and Śāktism), it has been accepted that He was being worshipped in India as a tree by a proto-Australoid tribe from the pre-Mohenjadaro period and even from the time of the ancient Babylonian civilisation. After some time the tree became a Dāru, which means a branchless trunk. This has been very significantly called in Oriya as the Madala. Then the madala was transformed into an unfinished image with two large round eyes and a projected nose. Subsequently it was believed as a manifestation of the Supreme Power.

But belief is not of a divine Godhead. No one does see anything divine in it since it is a clear symbol of a social and rational concept as : तमिन्द्रमिदमागहि वहिष्ठा ग्रावभिः सुतम्, कुविन्वस्य तृष्णवः' in the Rgveda. Here the concept of Indra is that of a god, but the treatment is completely human. So also with Sri Jagannāth. Otherwise neither any social function like Deepāvali and PAYA-ŚRĀDDHA nor the cremation ceremony of Sri Jagannāth at the time of NABAKALEVARA (the new form of Sri Jagannāth) would have been observed in the temple. Here the God is treated as a social being, almost manlike but at the same time the Supreme Being. He is a first class host and friend of all.

When a friend or relative comes into a house there must not be any fetters in meeting him. So also is the rule in the temple of Sri Jagannāth. Here the devotee treats Jagannāth as a friendly host but dedicates himself to Him as his Supreme Lord. In this manner one can enter the temple whenever one wants. From such a faith, we can say, the concept of 'Dhulia Darśan' has arisen (to see the Lord even with dusty feet). Here one does not feel the godliness in the worship, divinity in aristocracy or the difference between the mortal and the immortal, but expresses pure love, sincere devotion and true friendship.

Whenever and whatever is offered to Him in the real spirit of devotion He readily accepts, but does not take with His hands. The devotee gets KAIVALYA or salvation by this. So there is no need of mantra, yantra, yāga or yoga to please Him but love-pure love. Therefore, He



takes unboiled, unripe fruits from the hands of a low caste Śavara. Here we do not differentiate the devotee from the Lord, the dedicant from the dedicatee and the subject from the object. Both are the same in essence and both are human. This is the CREAM of our culture-Indian culture.

The peculiar imagery of the Dāru Devatā (Sri Jagannāth) is much more wonderful and mysterious. God is not human being. Flesh and blood are inessential for the construction of the Divine Corpus. There is no necessity of ears or legs and hands in the human form, because He only observes things and keeps quiet. He neither rescues nor does He take revenge on any one directly. He has no hands. But, He is the Great, Omnipotent, Almighty, yet touchable by all. Untouchability is a hideous sin in the society of mankind, He is a man (Puruṣa), the greatest man (Puruṣottama). So He has a right to lead the most luxurious life like an emperor. From morning until midnight He enjoys fifty-six varieties of food (bhoga) and thirty-six kinds of services (kh tani niyoga). Here the conception of God is fully human and majestic.

Besides, trio-worship in Jagannāthism is more than religious. The trio are of three different colours—white, yellow and black. The first Balabhadra is white, the second Subhadrā is yellow and the third Jagannāth is black. These colours meant for the gods represent the colours of the human races. In the colour conception the yellow faced Chinese, the white skinned European and the black coloured Afro-Indian races are clearly indicated. In other words, the Austro-Asiatic family of the Indian peninsula, the Chinese race of the Tibetan land, and beginning from the Turkish and Mongoloid family of North and Central Asia with the Indo-European descendants to the Negroes of Africa and the tribal races of South America are also included.

For this reason, we can assume that the king of Nepal coming from a distant Himalayan region acquires his right to step on the Ratna Sinhāsana and worship Dāru Devatā whenever he wants. For the same reason, the holy-treasury of Sri Jagannāth (Kothā-Bhandār) is full of golden ornaments and precious stones and pearls of the kings of Kashmir. So the god is called by the significant name of Jagannāth, the NĀTH or Lord of the Jagat, which means the universal flux; He is the universal flux.

Besides this, the secular idea in the worship of the Dāru Devatā is also magnanimous. In this self-centred age integration is the most important factor to survive in society. Every-body talks of national integration, but how to bring it about? The way selected is not a correct one. National unity cannot be achieved through celebrations or exhibitions.



Articulation of a word without knowing its implication is very dangerous like INDRA ŚATRU in the Vedas. It was known to Indians from the beginning of civilisation. So the Savara-Devatā Jagannāth was being worshipped by Jains and Brahmins alike assimilating the KAIVALYA and PURUṢOTTAMA concept with Dārubrahma and Vaikunṭha. But the element of the image is as it was. Besides, devotees of other religious cults also accepted Him as the Supreme God.

So he is worshipped by all without distinction of caste and creed. All are equal here. Sectarianism is out of question. Beginning from the highest to the lowest all can take ANNA MAHĀPRASĀD (meals dedicated to Sri Jagannāth) from the same plate. By doing this the Jainas achieve their KAIVALYA (salvation) and the Brahmins can reach Vaikunṭha. So the Jainas pray.

‘प्रणिपत्य जगन्नाथं सर्वजीनवराचितम्’

and the Brahmins sing

नीलाद्रौ शङ्खमध्ये शतदल कमले रत्नसिंहासनस्थं  
सर्वालङ्कारयुक्तं नवघनरुचिरं संयुतं चाग्रजेन,  
भद्रया वामभागे रथचरणयुतं ब्रह्मरुद्रेन्द्वन्दयम्  
देवानां सारमीशं स्वजनपरिवृतं ब्रह्मदाहं स्मरामि, ॥

As the Tantrajñānis pray on one hand

‘सुभद्राप्राणनाथाय जगन्नाथाय ते नमः’

the Muslim devotees sing

आहे नीलशङ्खप्रबलमत्तवारण  
मो आरतनलिनीवनकुकर दलन

on the other. Notwithstanding the above prayers gay Ādivāsi damsels of distant Kalinga forests dance to the accompaniment of the melodious song

उड़िशा (पुरी) कु जिवि वोलि किणथिलि पाटः  
उड़िशार लुकमणे न छाड़िले वाट

We can now conclude that the symbolic colour adopted for the trio is nothing but the colour of the most civilised Aryan-Brahmins including the white skinned inhabitants of Europe and the orthodox



people of the Savara tribe, coupled with the Afro-Asian black skinned people and the yellow faced Sino-Japanese races of Central Asia. So the Dāru Devatā is not only the symbol of the Indian mind but also of universal unity, which is the essence of Indian culture. Here we enjoy liberty in worship and equality in religion and fraternity of mankind. This is called Jagannāthi culture which is the essence of Indian culture.

It is said that idol worship was adopted by the Aryan immigrants from Jainism in later days. Whatever it may be, this much is true that in no other religion brothers and sisters are worshipped in one temple as at Puri. This is unique. This is the pure expression of universal fraternity. The relation between Sitā-Rāma, Hara-Gauri or Rādhā-Krishna is matrimonial. Here the trio are exceptions. Though in the later stage Sri Jagannāth was supposed as Viṣṇu and Mahālakṣmi as His spouse, She has no right to sit by the side of Her husband. She has a separate temple. Moreover, at the time of the Ratha-Yātra, sister Subhadrā and brother Balabhadra join with Sri Jagannāth but not Mahālakṣmi. Here Indians establish the sweetness of fraternal relationship through their Dāru Devatā at Puri. The implication of this is that all human beings should love each other as brothers and sisters. This relationship is the loveliest tie in the world. Men must realise this fact and try to conduct themselves like their God. This is Indian culture and the cultural deity is Dāru Devatā, the loftiest manifestation of universal brotherhood.



## NOTES ON THE CONCEPT OF NĀRĀYAṆA

BY

CHINMAYI CHATTERJEE

In Hindu theology Nārāyaṇa (henceforward to be indicated as N) occupies an exalted position. He is invoked as a four-handed golden-coloured deity, seated on a lotus seat, bearing disc and conch-shell and residing in the orb of the sun. (Normally he is eulogised in the following way : *Dhyeyah sadā savitrmaṇḍala-madhyavartī nārāyaṇah* etc.). The concept of this deity was developed in the period of the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa speaks of N. (XIII.6.1)). It is stated that N, the great Being wishing to transcend all other beings and becoming one with all, saw the form of sacrifice known as Pañcarātra and by performing that sacrifice became successful in his mission. In the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka N. appears as the great transcendental Being (*Antar bahiś ca tat sarvaṃ vyāpya nārāyaṇah sṭhitah*. X.II.2). The same text speaks of the fusion of N. with Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva.

(Nārāyaṇāya vidmahe vāsudevāya dhīmahi tan no viṣṇuh pracodayāt X.I.28). Dr. D.C. Sircar points out that the first mention of the fusion of N. and Viṣṇu was made in the Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra (II. 5. 9. 10).

(Early History of Vaiṣṇavism in Cultural Heritage of India, IV., p. 119). In the Nārāyaṇopaniṣad N. is declared as the supreme spirit who is identical with all gods, who is all-pervading and who is without a second. (Nārāyaṇopaiṣad 2 p. 272).

The Mahābhārata presents different versions of the N. doctrine. It is stated here that the same ultimate Reality assumes three appellations as N., Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu. The term N. indicates that it existed even before the water called Nārā or the issues of Nara came into being :

Āpo nārā iti proktā āpo vai narasunavaḥ  
Ayaṇaṃ mama tat pūrvam ato nārāyaṇo hi aham | Śānti P. 343-40.



The Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparva states how N. the eternal universal soul was born as the son of Dharma in the form of Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa :

Nārāyaṇo hi viśvātmācaturmūrtiḥ sanātanah dharmātmajah.

Ibid. 336.8.

Nārada's eulogy to N. at Śvetadvīpa is an admixture of Upaniṣadic view of unqualified Brahman with the concept of a personal god ever-compassionate to his devotees. In another passage N. is stated as superior to Brahmā and Rudra who are born through his grace (prasāda) and anger (krodha) respectively :

Yasya prasādajo brahmā rudraś ca krodhasambhavaḥ. Ibid. 343-12. In this epic we hear of four Vyūhas (emanations) of N., namely, Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Anirudha. In one passage Kṛṣṇa has been identified with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa :

.....harim nārāyaṇam prabhum

Śānti. P. 47.38.

In the Harivaṃśa, a supplementary book to the Mahābhārata, the identification of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu with Kṛṣṇa is clear and certain (82.21).

The Rāmāyaṇa supports the identification of N. with Viṣṇu :

Tato nārāyaṇo viṣṇuḥ niyuktah surasattamaih. 1. 16. 1.

and also with Hari : Haṛiḥ nārāyaṇah śrīmān

7.1.30

It adds a new element to the doctrine through the conception that N. sprang from Bhava (Śiva) for destroying the demons Mālī, Sumālī and Mālyavān who were more powerful than Rāvaṇa :

Bhavān nārāyaṇo devas caturbhujah sanātanah

Rākṣasān hantum utpanno hy ajaīyah prabhur avyayah

7. 8. 26.

In the Saṃhitās of the Pāñcarātra school N. is identical with Brahman. The Paramasaṃhitā states that Brahman undergoes the designation of Nārāyaṇa for his competence to bring about well-being and prosperity of the world. (Paramasaṃhitā, II.96-7. G.S.). The Nārada-pāñcarātra explains the term as indicating his status as the witness of the multitude of men :

Ayanah sa sāksibhūto yato nārāyaṇah smṛtah. Nārada-pāñcarātra, V. 8.20. The Lakṣmītantra speaks of him as constantly associated with Lakṣmi representing his creative energy :

Aham nārāyaṇī śaktiḥ sisṛkṣālakṣaṇā sadā.

Lakṣmītantra. II.22



The Purāṇas present divergent views on the doctrine of Nārāyaṇa. In the Kūrmapurāṇa he is Brahman and is identical with Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu. Chap. 1 pp. 10-12. B.I.). In the Brahmapurāṇa Kṛṣṇa is different from and superior to N. who eulogises him (1.3.9. A.S.S.). In the same text N. is regarded as part of Kṛṣṇa :

Bhaja nārāyaṇam sādhi madamśam ca caturbhujaṁ II. 4.14.

In the Padmapurāṇa he is identical with Kṛṣṇa who in turn is non-different from Brahman. (PP IV. 81.55. A.S.S.). In the Bhāgavata N. is a sage and an incarnation of Viṣṇu. (1.3.9).

In the hymns of the Ālvār saints N. is identical with Viṣṇu and holds an exalted position as the supreme god. In one of the hymns it is stated : 'With love as lamp-bowl, desire as oil, mind melting with bliss as wick, with melting soul, I have kindled the bright light of wisdom in the Tamil which I have wrought for Nārāyaṇa'. (Hooper's Hymns of the ālvārs. p. 12. note).

Almost all the theistic schools of the Vedānta system regard N. as non-different from Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa and therefore identical with Brahman. Yāmūnācārya, the preceptor of Rāmānuja says (Nārāyaṇaḥ param Brahma (Gītāsāṃgraha. Sl. 1.), Rāmānuja (Nārāyaṇa eva brahmeti sthitam. Śrī-bhāṣya, 1.1.12) and Madhva (Brahma nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuh. Anuvyākhyā. 1.1.8) speak of N. as Brahman. A new interpretation of the term N. appears in this school. In the Nyāyasūdhā it has been stated that the term stands for being in full possession of all the qualities:

Sarvaṅgāpūrnatvaṁ nārāyaṇa—śabdārtha ity uktam bhavati. Nyāyasūdhā. 1.1. Vallabha (henceforward to be called as V) who offers the highest position to Kṛṣṇa recognises N. as identical with him.

Madhusūdanō mādhas ca trivṛṇ nārāyaṇas tathā. Com. on Bhāgavata. X.3.9. The greatness of N. seems to be in the process of decline in the philosophy of the Vaiṣṇava school of Bengal. The tendency of paying excessive importance to Kṛṣṇa after the Bhāgavata ideal enshrined in the verse :

Ete cāṃsakalāḥ pumsaḥ kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam. I.3.29. has perhaps led the stalwarts of this system to conceive of N. as subordinate to him. In their philosophy N. loses the supremacy enjoyed by Him since the Vedic age. Even His identity with K. is denied here and He is treated as His (Kṛṣṇa's) part. Jīva observes that the deities N. and Vāsudeva mark specific phases of appearance of Kṛ. (Mūrtiviśeṣa). Kṛ. is angī (whole) and N. is anga :



Yo nārāyaṇaḥ prasiddhaḥ so 'pi tavāṅgaṃ mūrtir ity eṣaḥ. atra saḥ tavāṅgaṃ tvam punar aṅgī ity asau tu viśeṣo 'rthah. Śrīkṛṣṇasandarbhā. p. 324-5.

The religious texts which speak of Kṛṣṇa's identity with Nā, only indicate that Kṛ. is Māhānārāyaṇa, i.e. the supreme Reality in which Nā. resides as its part :

Svayaṃ śrīkṛṣṇas tu nārāyaṇas tvam ityādyuktah mahānārāyaṇo bhavet. Ibid. p. 339. Elsewhere Jīva. explains this point through the analogy of a paramount ruler. Just as a paramount ruler who rules over subordinate kings is sometimes called a king, So Kṛ. who is superior to Nā. undergoes that designation also :

Adhikāiśvaryaḍ adhīśas tvam api nārāyaṇaḥ. Yathā maṇḍale-svaro 'pi nṛpatiḥ teṣāṃ adhipo 'pi nṛpatir iti. Bhagavatsandarbhā. p.

Jīva disowns the view that Nā. is Bhagavān-the qualified supreme God on the ground that the very derivative sense of the term Nā. implies his difference from Bhagavān. Being an inner controller (antar-yāmin) Nā. is the resting place (ayana) of all embodied beings and as a great witness (sākṣin) He knows them all; but Bhagavān does never play such a role. He is conspicuous by his indifference (audāsīnya) towards the act of inward control (antaryāmitā) of the embodied selves and He witnesses them not directly Himself but through the medium of His part Nā.

Yo 'sau dehinām ātmā antaryāmapuruṣaḥ ata eva nārasya jīvasamūhasya ayanāśrayo bhavati tasya nārāyaṇatvaṃ sākṣāt bhagavataḥ, tava tu tadantaryāmitāyām audāsīnyam iti bhāvah. Kiñca akhilalokasākṣī... tasmāt nāram ayate jānātīti nārāyaṇo 'sau tvam punas tenāmsenaiva tadbraṣṭā na tu sākṣād iti tasmād vilakṣaṇa ity arthah.

Bhagavatsandarbhā.

As a part of the Lord Nā. constitutes His body which reclines in water and in which the whole universe is contained :

Nārāyaṇāṅgakasya bhagavadvighrahasya viśvo 'pi prapañce 'ntarbhūtaḥ.

Jagadāśrayabhūtaṃ nārāyaṇābhidhaṃ tava tadvapuh jalastham. Ibid.

In consonance with the observations of Jīva gosvāmī, Rūpa Gosvāmī refuses to ascribe supremacy to Nā. He presents Nā. as vilāsa of Kṛ.



Tasmāt paramavaikuṇṭhanātho 'py asya vilāsakah. Laghubhāga-  
vatāmṛta. p. 238.

Asya śrīkṛṣṇasya—Rasikarangadā commentary.

Vilāsa in Vaiṣṇava philosophy means an appearance of the divine self which is adopted by the Lord Himself out of sportive motive and which is marked by lesser number of attributes.

Svarūpam anyākāraṃ yat tasya bhāti vilāsatah  
Prāyeṇātmasamaṃ śaktyā sa vilāso nigadyate

Ibid. 15.

Nā. as a vilāsa of Kṛ. is inseparably related with him. Even during the incarnational appearance of Kṛ. on earth Nā. follows like a subordinate ruler following the paramount emperor during his triumphant expedition.

Digvijayāya gacchantam sārvaabhaumam yathā maṇḍalādhipāh,  
tathā jagaty avatīrṣum kṛṣṇam svayaṃ prabhum te tadvilāsādayah  
svasvāṃśairanugaccheyur iti bhāvah.

Sāranganarangadā commentary on Laghubhāgavatāmṛta. p. 240

As Kṛ. emanates in fourfold forms, viz. Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Saṃkarṣaṇa and Aniruddha so does also Nā. But the emanations of Kṛ. are far more superior to the emanations of Nā.

Vāsudevādayo vyūhāh paramavyomeśvarasya me

Tebhyo 'opy utkarṣabhājo 'mī kṛṣṇavyūhā satām matah-  
Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, 241.

because Kṛ. the vilāsin himself is greater than Nā. the vilāsa :

ādhikyam paramavyomanāthād apy asya darśitam. Lagh. Bhā. 227.

Na. however is not equated by Rūpa, G. with other incarnations of Kṛ. like Fish, Tortoise etc. These are all his partial manifestations (aṃśāvatāra) in which his divinity is revealed in lesser degree than in Vilāsa :

Valadeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa repeats the views of his predecessors with a bit modification. He declares Nā. as a vilāsa not of Kṛ. but of Brahman. Kṛ. and Nā. (along with Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha) are two different manifestations of Brahman called Svayaṃrūpa and Vilāsa :



Brahma svayamrūpatvena—ānandamayakṛṣṇatvena-vilāsatvādinā ca  
dvedhāvatīṣṭhate, Govindabhāṣya. III. 3. 15.

In support Baladeva refers to the famous Śruti-text which conceives of Brahman as a bird endowed with five limbs :

Those five limbs are, in his opinion, allegorical representation of five Vilāsas-Nā. Vā. Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, who constitute parts of the deity. They, however, ultimately belong to Kṛ. as He is the self-same manifestation of Brahman :

Śīro nārāyanah pakṣo savya eva ca pradyumnaścāniruddhaś ca sandeho  
vāsudevakah Nārāyano 'tha sandeho vāsudevah śīropi vāll Pucchaṁ  
saṁkarṣaṇah prokta eka eva tu pañcadhā Aṅgāgitvena bhagavānkrīḍati  
puruṣottamah iti smaranāc ca. Govindabhāṣya. III. 3. 15.

This concept goes to disprove the popular belief that Kṛ. is an incarnation of Nā. Kṛ.'s superiority to Nā. which is established in the religious texts, points to the reverse conclusion that Nā. is a manifestation of Kṛ.

Nanu astu kṛṣṇah puruṣādyavatārāṇām avatārī. Tadavatārī tu  
Paramavyomādhipatir astu. Tasya kutrāpy avatāratvānukteś ceti cet,  
maivam, tasyāpi Kṛṣṇāvīrbhāvatvābhīdhānāt. Siddhāntaratna. 2.17.  
Kṛ. is identical with the supreme spirit as all His divine attributes are  
fully and totally displayed in Him (Kṛṣṇa). He becomes Nārāyaṇa when  
some of the divine properties remain obscured :

Tasmāt sarvadharmāviṣkārāt kṛṣṇasya svayamrūpatvaṁ tasyaivānā-  
viṣkṛtasarvadharmasya paramavyomādhipatvaṁ.

Siddhāntaratna. p. 230.

Such dialectical assertions of the mystic teachers of the Vaiṣṇava school of Bengal did not succeed in imparting influence on the religious outlook of the ordinary people. They rather betray the apathy towards this new concept of Nā. by retaining the old ideal of the pre-Caitanya systems of thought that this deity, one with Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa is the supreme Lord, the sole refuge of the world and the embodied selves.



## THE CONCEPT OF YUGAS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

*Dr. P. G. LALYE,*

Reader in Sanskrit, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

In the days of Yore, in India, social customs attained the status of law and the people belonging to four Varnas led a life governed by rules and regulations. A vedic mantra was a hortatory passage (Cf. *Somena Yajeta*) and the explanation or the laudation of it was called 'Brāhmaṇa'. These two together formed the hard core of the Vedic sacrificial religion. They were so rigid that for hundreds of years, no new changes were admitted. Life of the people in Sūtra and Smṛti periods, was mostly governed by the Gṛhyasūtras. Sanskāras (sacraments), injunctions, prohibitions and expiation for the mistakes, were generally discussed in Law works. These, not only laid down injunctions, but created a lasting impression on the minds of the people.

The rigidity of the rules gradually led to the rigidity of thinking on the part of the common people. Though exegetic activities were going on in literary fields and though the dynasties were continuously being elbowed out in pre-Gupta ages, the life of a common man was rarely disturbed. The Yuga theories deal with the longtime changes in the apparently changeless society.

The theory of Yugas (or of manvantaras) is essentially a theory of world-change. The Time, though eternal, is empirically divided into years, months etc. by the ancient Indian thinkers and it is said that Time is always in the process of 'becoming' something. Time which is 'static being' is converted into an ever-changing 'becoming'. This idea is beautifully conveyed by a R̥gveda verse, which contains a metaphor of a chariot driven by a horse having seven names and forms. The process of contraction and expansion is the basis of change. It has a two-fold name of Samaanā and Samprasāraṇa in the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>1</sup> In Rv. the word

1. शतपथ ब्राह्मण VIII, 1, 4, 10,



'Rocana' is used for the process.<sup>2</sup> Many vedic deities are no doubt theogonic representatives of the process of movement only. The Prajāpati, according to certain Brāhmaṇa passages represents cyclic movement, which can be measured in time units. Matter is covered into life.<sup>3</sup> From teleological point of view, prajāpati is the universe. The process is a continuous process of becoming in which gods also partake and the

Worlds on worlds are rolling over  
From creation to decay,  
Like the bubbles on a river,  
Sparkling, bursting, borne away.<sup>4</sup>

Along with the idea of Becoming, Indian thinkers conceived the process of Decline also. It is here that the four-fold theory of the Yugas comes to the fore. The four ages represent a gradual decay in virtue. In the first, virtue reigns supreme; in the second it declines; in the third, it becomes sparse and in the fourth, it disappears.<sup>5</sup> Most of the Purāṇas and a number of classical works have given the characteristics of four Yugas. More lengthy are those of Kali Yuga. Dr. Buddha Prakash has given in detail the ideas of historical change in different countries and has also given the views of some eminent historians like Spengler, Toynbee, Bagley and others<sup>6</sup>. In many countries, the idea of change is in keeping with the change in dynasty. In China for example, five ages of Universal peace, approaching peace, disorder, approaching peace and of universal peace are given. The first four are covered by the periods of Hsia dynasty, Confucious and modern times. This Parochialism is not found in Indian conception of Yugas. It is, however, mentioned that various Manus presided over a particular aeon (manvantara). Secondly, these divisions of the periods are so varied in different countries,

2. Rg X 189.2

3. शतपथ ब्राह्मण 1, 6. 3. 5.

4. Line from 'Hellas' of Shelley, quoted by Dr. Buddha Prakash in his book 'Modern Approach to History'.

5. The Jains have two divisions of Time which are characterized by the decline and rise of virtue respectively. Like the Jainas the Buddhists conceived the idea of four great and eighty smaller Kalpas, which are the acts and scenes of the drama of the successive creations and dissolutions of the Universe.

6. Dr. Buddha Prakash : The Modern Approach to History, pp 90—125



that one is constrained to say that they are almost arbitrary. The theory of Saint Augustine (354-430 A.D.) is the theory of six ages dominated by the personalities of Noah, David and Jesus Christ. The Indian Yuga theory, though slightly fantastic from the point of view of the number of years, is a systematic approach and does not depend upon some individuals for the change. It is not a man who changes the Yugas (though a man might leave indelible stamp of his personality historically), but the virtue, and if we take into consideration three-fold nature of man, the Yuga theory seems to be more plausible.

The Yuga ideas and the behaviour of the people in them is quite a popular topic with the purāṇas. The conception cuts across the behaviour pattern of the individuals. The Purāṇas and Dharmasūtra works often emphasize three types of Karma and the inevitability of their operation. It often states that the ways of Karma are inscrutable and unpredictable. (For example, though Arjuna (Nara) and Nārāyaṇa practised penance simultaneously Arjuna had to pass through different hardships to which human flesh is heir.<sup>7</sup> Individual Karma and Yuga characteristics run parallel and though actions of the individuals may differ, they cannot escape from the all-comprehensive nature of Yuga.

The Yuga theory arises out of the idea of decreasing nature of Dharma. The four-legged Dharma gradually loses its leg in Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali ages. It is also said in some Smṛtis that in these four ages Dharmas promulgated by Manu, Gautama, Sankha-Likhita, and Parāśara prevail.<sup>8</sup> This pāda-loss corresponds to the degradation of the ethical or moral standard of the people. This is also due to the different motives and aims of the people in different ages. This leads to the well-established fact that the human beings are dominated by Sattva, Rajas or Tamas qualities and their persuasions or promptings differ according to the Karma of the individual. The Purāṇas, which were more or less ethical manuals, elaborated the background of divine and human legends were more interested in tracing the decrease of Dharma. As they were not averse to the traditional changes, Yuga ideas appealed much to the imagination of their authors.

As far as the question of the duration of Yugas is concerned, there are a number of views. The Smṛtis and the Jyotiṣa works have got divergent views.

7. DB VI II. 33-35,

8. पराशरस्मृति I. 24.



The Purāṇas give conflicting opinions and calculations about the Yuga. However, many Purāṇas have maintained that in one Kalpa, there will be 1,000 Caturyugas and in those thousand Caturyugas, there will be fourteen manvantaras. The fourteen manvantaras are—Svāyambhuva, Svārociṣa, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cākṣuṣa, Vaivasvata, Sāvarṇika, Dakṣasāvarṇika, Brahmasāvarṇika, Dharmasāvarṇika, Rudrasāvarṇika, Devasāvarṇika, Indrasāvarṇika. (Vide Bhāgavata Purāṇa I.S.B., Manusmṛti I, 61, 62, 63 ; Viṣṇu Purāṇa III, 2 ). The 'Sūrya Siddhānta', has also mentioned the above names. According to it, out of 71 mahāyugas of Vaivasvata Manvantara (which is now going on) 28 Satyayugas, 28 Tretās, 28 Dvāparas and 27 Kaliyugas have already passed on.

One Kalpa is equal to one day of Brahmā. The three worlds are created along with the day break of Brahmā's day. As the night of Brahmā advents, there takes place a total destruction or Pralaya.

So                      A day of Brahmā = 4,32,00,00,000 human years.  
                             A night of Brahmā = 4,32,00,00,000 human years.

These two together constitute one day and night of Brahmā.

The calculation of the Purāṇas can be given in a tabular form as follows :—

#### The Divine years of the Four Yugas.

| Name of Yuga | Sandhyā | Period | Sandhyāṅśa | Total  |
|--------------|---------|--------|------------|--------|
| 1. Satya     | 400     | 4,000  | 400        | 4,800  |
| 2. Tretā     | 300     | 3,000  | 300        | 3,600  |
| 3. Dvāpara   | 200     | 2,000  | 200        | 2,400  |
| 4. Kali      | 100     | 1,100  | 100        | 1,200  |
| Total        |         |        |            | 12,000 |

#### Human years of the Four Yugas.

| Name of Yuga | Sandhyā  | Period    | Sandhyāṅśa | Total     |
|--------------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| 1. Satya     | 1,44,000 | 14,40,000 | 1,44,000   | 17,28,000 |
| 2. Tretā     | 10,800   | 1,08,000  | 1,08,000   | 12,96,000 |
| 3. Dvāpara   | 72,000   | 72,000    | 72,000     | 8,64,000  |
| 4. Kali      | 36,000   | 36,000    | 36,000     | 4,32,000  |
| Total        |          |           |            | 43,20,000 |



All these unmistakably prove the high antiquity of the earth and throws a flood of light on the problem of the age of Earth.

It is told in the Devī Bhāgavata that once Janamejaya wanted to know the reason as to why Janārdana, who assumed different forms to slay the wicked, spared a number of criminals who looted wealth and molested the wives of Hari. Why was he not inspired by the motive of Bhārāvatarāṇa at that time ?

Vyāsa who has already discussed the strange nature of Karma replied that it is Yugadharmā which is the cause of this. In Satya age, people are attached to Dharma, in Tretā to Piety and material pleasures, in Dvāpara, to piety, material pleasures and physical pleasures and in Kali in material pleasures and physical pleasures only. This is 'Yugadharmā', which never goes wrong. Then he added a significant sentence. It is kāla which determines piety and impiety.

The reply brings forth clearly that it is inherent in the nature of Kāla to create Dharma or Adharma in the people and Kāla rules over the destinies of the people making them attached to abiding or temporary bliss. The Purāṇas have explained at a number of places the powerful nature of Kāla. The wheel of Time moves on continuously and in its rotations it changes the qualities and attachment of the people also.

Vyāsa added that though there is the all-pervading influence of a particular Yuga, the individual actions also play a large part in determining the ultimate abode. Thus in the first three ages the people of the four Varṇas, endowed with certain virtues like truth and compassion go to heaven.<sup>9</sup> The DB has given a general name 'Sādhārāṇa Dharma', as it is observed irrespective of Varṇa to which they belong. In Kali age, the sinners go to hell, and are again born as human beings, at the time of the change of Yuga. At the end of Kali and the beginning of Satya the meritorious people are born as human beings from the Heaven; similarly, at the end of Dvāpara and the beginning of Kali, they emerge from the hell. However, by the influence of fate, some change in this process may also be observed. A Yuga casts its shadow on the actions of the people.<sup>10</sup> This Yuga concept is a brilliant outcome of Indian genius and rules over Indian minds for thousand of years.

9. Devī Bhāgavata VI 11. 19-22.

10. Devī Bhāgavata VI 11. 23-29.



## ESOTERIC ELEMENT IN THE TRIKA PHILOSOPHY OF KASHMIR

*D.B. SEN*

Philosophy in the Indian tradition is inseparably fused with religion so that there is hardly any pure philosophy in the western sense of the term. Indian philosophy is not content with mere description of the view of Reality as experienced intuitively by the seekers of Truth (*Satyadraṣ-tāraḥ ṛṣayaḥ*), it also lays down the ways leading to the achievement of the Supreme Goal. Whatever speculative tendency is found in Indian philosophy, it is due to an attempt at rationalisation by the seekers of Truth their intuitive experiences which are otherwise unintelligible to ordinary men. It has therefore been recognised, right from the Upaniṣadic times, that logic has only a secondary role to play in the apprehension of the true nature of Reality, and as such is useless and only futile exercise of the intellect in so far as the achievement of the Supreme Goal is concerned. It therefore seems very proper that the study of spiritual discipline should receive proper attention along with metaphysics and epistemology in all schools of Indian Philosophy.

This is more true in the case of certain religious philosophical schools which have leanings on the mystical side. A perusal of the treatises of some of these schools would show that description of the various modes of spiritual discipline was given more importance than epistemology or metaphysics. The Trika system of Kashmir, popularly known as Kashmir Śaivism, is one such religious philosophy in which spiritual discipline (*sādhana*) has been discussed in great detail, and it is in these descriptions that esoteric elements occur in abundance. It is proposed here to consider some of the esoteric elements found in course of discussion of various modes of *sādhana* prescribed for different types of aspirants.

Before we take up for discussion these elements, it would perhaps not be out of place to say a few words about the Trika system by way of introduction. The Trika philosophy of Kashmir is one of the seven Śaiva religious movements which made their appearance in different parts of this country in different periods of time. In Kashmir itself,



Śaivism made its appearance in three different forms viz, pure monistic (advaita), dualistic (dvaita) and monistic-cum-dualistic (dvaitādvaita) in ancient times. According to the orthodox tradition, the teaching of Śaivāgamas which have eternal existence, was lost to the people due to the influence of Kali era (Kalikāla). It was revealed once again by Lord Śiva himself to the sage Durvāsā out of compassion for the suffering humanity. Sage Durvāsā taught his mind-born sons (mānasa putras) Tryambaka, Āmardaka and Śrīnātha the eternal philosophy of Śaivāgamas and asked them to propagate the same in three forms, namely Abheda (Identity), Bheda (Difference) and Bhedābheda (Identity-cum-Difference) respectively. Of these the abheda or Advaita form of Śaivism was considered to be the best, and it was this form of Śaivism which later came to be known as the Trika philosophy of Kashmir. The Trika philosophy in the present form made its appearance in the valley of Kashmir in the 9th century A. D. when sage Vasugupta, having discovered the Pāśupata mantras inscribed on a hill top, Mahādevagiri, wrote the first work of this school, *Śiva-sūtra*. He was followed by a host of other Śaivācāryas of whom mention might be made of Siddha Somananda, author of *Śiva Dr̥ṣṭi*, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, author of *Spanda Kārikā*, Utpala Bhaṭṭa, author of *Pratyabhijñā kārikā* etc. The brightest star in the galaxy of Śaivācāryas however was Abhinavagupta, the most erudite scholar, versatile genius and a prolific writer. Of about 46 works which are ascribed to him only 24 works on different branches of learning, such as Śaiva philosophy, aesthetics, dramaturgy etc. have come down to us. Among the masterpieces on Trika philosophy, mention must be made of his monumental work *Tantrāloka* which gives elaborate exposition of the tenets of this school. As the *Tantrāloka* is a voluminous work running into twelve volumes, he himself condensed his teachings from *Tantrāloka* in the *Tantrasāra*. a small but terse philosophical treatise.

The *Tantrasāra* opens with the discussion of the nature of knowledge and Ignorance. The author then turns his attention to the consideration of the various modes of Sādhana prescribed for different types of aspirants. At the outset he discusses the nature and role of Śaktipāta (Descent of Divine Grace) which plays a crucial role in Sādhana.

It has been stated that the Supreme Reality, Parama Śiva always performs a cycle of five-fold functions (Pañcakṛityas) in exercise of his Divine Freedom (*Svātantrya*). Of these *Nigraha* (self-limitation) and *Anugraha* (Divine Grace) are the most important functions from the point of view of creative activity. *Nigraha* is that function by exercising which the Supreme Lord assumes different roles (*bhumikā*) in creation, viz. that of limited subjects (*paśu-pramātā*) and their objects of knowledge (*prameya*). The Trika system thus considers *jīvas* to be only



self-contracted form of the suprement Lord. *Anugraha* (Divine grace) which is also an eternal function of the Supreme Lord, represents that aspect of his Divine Freedom whereby He put an end to his self-contraction (*Sva-samkoca*). *Nigraha* and *Anugraha* mark the beginning and the end of entire cycle of creative process which itself is nothing but a mode of His self-manifestation, Divine Sport (*Līla*), from His point of view.

Although *Anugraha* (Divine Grace) is said to be flowing eternally from the Supreme Lord, yet it is available to these select few who develop within themselves the capacity to receive the same in course of time. Qualitatively speaking, the Divine Grace received by different aspirants is always the same but it differs quantitatively from aspirant to aspirant as it is in proportion to the capacity of an individual aspirant, which again is directly dependent on the degree of perfection achieved by the individual aspirants through their personal efforts. This being the case, Abhinavagupta speaks of nine kinds of Divine Grace available to as many kinds of aspirants. This classification of Divine Grace, it may be pointed out, is based on intensity of Grace received by different individual aspirants.

In this connection Abhinavagupta mentions only four kinds of *upāyas* (modes of spiritual discipline) available to aspirants with varying capacities. The *upāyas* are the *Anupāya*, *Sāmbhava upāya*, *Śākta upāya* and the *Āṇava upāya*. This classification of *upāyas* (ways of spiritual discipline) is only a broad one because in the Trika view, no generalisation in the field of *sādhana* is possible, only broad indication of the different directions, can be given leaving out minor details to *sādhakas* for working them out as they proceed towards the Supreme Goal.

Of the four *upāyas* (ways of spiritual discipline) discussed by Abhinavagupta, *Anupāya* is hardly an *upāya* in the real sense of the term as it is available only to a select few who have attained the highest degree of perfection. Such aspirants, receiving the Divine Grace in most intense form, are not required to put in any effort to achieve the Supreme Goal viz. *Śivatva*. The very moment the Divine Grace descends from the Highest Source in most intense form on such aspirants, all the three kinds of defilements (males) namely *āṇava*, *māyīya* and *kārma* which are responsible for their embodied existence, are destroyed instantaneously, and they at once attain *Śivatva*.

But all the aspirants do not attain the highest degree of perfection (*ādhāra-śuddhi*). There are aspirants who having attained somewhat lesser degree of perfection, receive Divine Grace in less intense form from the original source. They have therefore to adopt a different mode of spiritual discipline which is technically known as *Sāmbhava*



*upāya*. The aspirants eligible for this *upāya* do not have to make any endeavour to achieve the Supreme Goal.

But they have to pass through certain stages of mystic experience when they intuitively "see" in their pure *citta* (*cidākāśa* or *bodhagagana*) the reflecting medium of experiences, the Divine Śakti as Supreme Light (*Mahāprakāśa*). In the beginning, this Light appears as undifferentiated light which soon begins to unfold the infinite variety of its self-expressions (*parāmarśa*) in the form of phases of Śakti, called *kalās*. The unfoldment of Divine Śakti explained symbolically in terms of *Varnas* (letters of alphabet) representing different phases of Śakti, takes place in two stadia, viz. *Svara varna* (vowels) and *vyañjana varnas*. (Consonants). The phases of Divine Śakti there are intrinsic and fundamental, therefore pure, are represented symbolically by *Svara-Varna*, beginning with "a" *varna* ( अ वर्ण ).

"a" (अ) *Varna* (Vowel letter a) symbolises the act of self-expression (*āmarśana*) of the Supreme Lord as the transcendent *Cit Śakti* (*anuttara cit*) which is regarded as the highest and fundamental aspect of Divine Śakti, from which movements in the form of further self-expressions follow. The very act of self expression as "a" (अ) *varna* really speaking involves a sort of ejection or emergence (*visarga*) of its *Kalā-rūpa* from the supreme self-expression of the Supreme Lord (*Para Parāmarśa*) which is indescribable. But the process of ejection (*visarga*) is so subtle that it is generally not noticed by the aspirants.

"a" (अ) *varna* representing the *Anuttara cit* (transcendent *cit Śakti*) in the next movement appears to the aspirant to express itself in the form of *Ānanda Śakti* which is symbolised by the second vowel-letter "ā". The *varna* "ā" (आ) as is well known is biune by nature (*yāmala rūpa*) as it is made of two "a" (अ) *varnas* held together in the unity of "ā" (आ). *Ānanda Śakti* is also said to be only a self-projection of *Anuttara cit*. As the second "a" (अ) is only an emanation from the first "a" (अ) symbolising *Anuttara cit*, the two "a" (अ) in the "ā" (आ वर्ण) are said to be facing one another (*abhimukha*) like the Divine couple, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in *Nikunja līlā*. An eternal interplay of Bliss goes on in this self created dichotomy of Divine Śakti, involving no movement outside the *yāmala* "a" *varnas*. The Bliss which the aspirant experiences in this stage is in extremely condensed form as it were. The movement of *Anuttara cit* to *Ānanda Śakti*, symbolised by "a" and "ā" *varnas* respectively is considered to be a state of restful poise (*viśrānti*) for the former.

As the *Anuttara cit* moves further (in a sort of involution) it expresses itself as the *Ichhā Śakti* which is represented by the third vowel



“i” (इ). *Ichā Śakti* functions simultaneously in two directions. On one hand it negates the transcended aspect of *Śvarūpa Śakti*, *Anuttara cit*, creating thereby a void (*Śūnya*) as it were, on the other it causes further emanations to fill up the void so created.

*Anuttara cit* in the next movement expresses itself as *Īśanam* which is nothing but a restful poise (*viśrānti*) of *Ichā Śakti* and is symbolised by the fourth letter “i” (ई).

In the following movement, *anuttara cit* appears to the aspirant to express itself as the “*unmeṣa*” which is another name for *jñāna śakti*. It is represented by the vowel “u” (उ). The expression of Divine *Śakti* as *unmeṣa* represents that stage of unfoldment of the *Śakti* when the *anuttara cit* (transcendent cit) about to take a form (*ākāra*) as it were.

In the next movement which is nothing but a restful poise (*Viśrānti*) of *unmeṣa*, the *Anuttara cit* expresses itself as “*ūrmi*” symbolised by the sixth vowel letter “u” (ऊ). In this stage, the expression of *Śakti* as *unmeṣa* or *jñāna* assumes a form (*ākāra*) for the first time, but it must be remembered that this form is only an “ideal” one, and not objective.

These three principal expressions of Divine *Śakti* viz. *Anuttara*, *Ichā* and *Unmeṣa*, or *jñāna*, symbolized by the vowel letters “a” (अ) “i” (इ) and “u” (उ) respectively, are said to constitute the primal Triangle (*trikoṇa*) with *anuttara cit* or “ā” (आ) varṇa at the vortex, *Ichā* and *Unmeṣa* represented by “i” (ई) and “u” (उ), the two different self-expressions of the vortex, *Anuttara cit*.

It may pointed out here that in all these self expressions of the Divine-*Śakti* described above, *Kriya-Śakti* which is an important aspect of Divine-*Śakti*, and is held responsible for actualisation of the potentiality of Divine *Śakti* does not come in operation with the result that different self-expressions of Divine *Śakti* continue to be formless and extremely subtle. It is only after *Anuttara cit* expresses itself as *unmeṣa śakti* or *jñāna śakti* and thus takes on an ideal form as it were, that *Kriyā śakti* starts functioning and influencing the further movement of *Anuttara cit*. It gets conjoined with *Ichā* and *Īśana Śaktis* as a result of which four distinct self-expressions of *anuttara cit* appear, symbolised by four vowel letters viz. “ṛ” (ऋ), ॠ (ॠ), Ḍṛ (Ḍṛ) and Ḍṛ (Ḍṛ).

As these self expressions of the *Anuttara cit* appear under the influence of the operation of *Kriyā Śakti* they are considered as impure and called Neuter (*Napurṃsaka*).



In the following movement *Anuttara cit* appears to express itself in conjunction with *Ichhā śakti* which is symbolised by the vowel letter “e” (ए). In the same way, the *Ānandā Śakti* appears to express itself in conjunction with *Ichhā* which is represented by the vowel varna “ai” (ऐ). Again as the *Anuttarā cit* and *ānanda śakti* express themselves in conjunction with *unmeṣa Śakti*, they give rise to two self-expressions, symbolised respectively by two vowel letters “o” (ओ) and “au” (औ).

In this way, the *Anuttara cit*, having expressed itself in different forms symbolised by different vowel letters, at last reaches a stage when all its self-expressions having emerged from the “a” (अ) varna appear once again to merge and coalesce in the “a” (अ) varna. Now this “a” varnā, holding within its bosom all its self expressions as identified with itself, must be different from the first one, hence it is symbolised by a different vowel letter “am” (अं). The Bindu in the “am” (अं) represents all the *Kalās* of Divine Śakti held in the unity of *anusvāra*, and as such is regarded the most potential self expression of Divine Śakti from which emanation of other *kalās* follow on a different stadium.

In the next movement, *Anuttara cit* expresses itself as the *visarga* which is represented by the vowel letter “ah” (अः). The *visarga* marks the culmination of the manifestation of intrinsic aspects of Divine Śakti on the higher plane, and on the other hand it also indicates the possibility of further emanations of the aspects of Divine Śakti on somewhat lower plane.

The sixteen self expressions of Divine Śakti, each representing a movement of *Anuttara cit* symbolised by sixteen vowel varnas are technically called “*bījas*” (seeds) as they represent the Divine Śakti in pure and subtle form. It may be pointed out here that the references to *Pañcadaśi* and *Soḍaśīkalās* in the Śākta literature symbolising the states of Fullness (*purna*) and the Absolute (*paripurna*) of the Supreme Reality appear to bear resemblance with the above conception of pure *kalās* of Divine Śakti.

In the subsequent movements, the *Anuttara cit* appears as expressing itself in five principal groups of self-expressions representing five principal groups of *Tattvas*. *Pañca mahābhūtās* symbolised by consonant letter group ‘ka’ (कवर्ग), *pañcatanmātrās* by consonant letter group ‘ca’ (चवर्ग) five *Karmendriyas* by consonant letter group ‘ṭa’ (टवर्ग), five *jñānendriyas* by consonant letter group ‘ta’ (तवर्ग), *manas*, *ahamkara*, *buddhi*, *prakṛiti* and *puruṣa* by consonant alphabet group “pa” (पवर्ग). The *Anuttara cit* then expresses itself as *rāga*, *vidyā*, *kalā*, and *māyā tattvas* symbolised respectively by ‘ya’ ‘ra’, ‘la’, ‘va’ varnas (य, र, ल, व,). The *Anuttara cit* then expresses itself as *mahāmāyā*, *suddhāvidya*, *Īśvara*, *Sadāśiva* and *Śakti* symbolised by consonant letter from ‘sa’ (स) to ‘ha’ (ह).



In this way all the self expressions of Divine Śakti called *kalās* or *māṭṛikas*, symbolised by *varṇas* (letters) beginning with 'a' varṇa and ending in 'ha' varṇa, are revealed one by one to the *adhikārins* of the *Sāmbhava upāya* in their pure *Citta* (mind). They then begin to experience that the entire creation (*srṣṭi*) is nothing but a series of vibration (*Spandana*) of ever operating Divine Śakti. They also intuitively experience *A-ham* (in which the *bindu* am represents *pratyāhāra*-the potentialised point of the circle of all *kalās*) as representing the entire range of self-expressions of ever vibrating Divine Śakti. This Mystic experience of *Aham* (which must be distinguished from ego-sense, *ahamkāra* that is due to ignorance) leads the aspirants to realise that it symbolises not only the potentialised expression of the Divine Śakti which is the same as their Divine *Svarupa*, it also represents the entire range of creation which, in the form of so many vibrations of Divine Śakti, are held in its bosom. The aspirants then begin getting a glimpse of their Divine Glory (*aisvarya*) which leads them to realise that the creation is nothing but an extension of their Divine Nature, a self projection. (*Svecchaya svabhittau viśvamunmīlayati*). The intuitive experience *Ahmtā* has therefore been considered as the supreme experience of one's Divinity, the highest self-expression of the Absolute, *Parama Śiva*. It is in this manner that the aspirants are able to divinise every phase of worldly existence through the help of Śakti (*Ichhā Śakti*). This leads to the integral realisation of their Divine Essence, the *Śivatva*, which is the Journey's End.

The recipients of Divine Grace in most mild form are incapable of following the mode of *sādhana* prescribed under *sāmbhava* and *Śākta upāyas*. They therefore have to adopt an arduous mode of *sādhana* and perform such rigorous disciplines as prescribed under *Ānavopāya* to compensate as it were for the imperfection and deficiencies in their body-apparatuses. Without going into the details of the *sādhana* prescribed for the aspirants following *Ānavopāya*, I would like to draw your attention to the stages of ascent through which the aspirant has to progress after arousing *prāna śakti* in their *hṛdayākāśa* (heart-medium) in order to reach the Supreme Goal. It is in these stages of ascent that the aspirant has certain mystic experiences which have been vividly described by Abhinavagupta. It has been stated by him that as the *sādhaka* progressed through these steps, he experiences within himself unique kind of Bliss (*Ānanda*) at every stage of ascent which have been technically called *Nijānanda*, *Nirānanda*, *Parānanda*, *Brahmānanda*, *Mahānanda* and *Cidānanda*. The feeling of Bliss experienced by him at every step of ascent arises from his establishment in different stages of ascent by which he progresses gradually nearer and nearer to his pure self, *Ahmtā*.



In the first stage of ascent when the aspirant is able to arouse *prāna śakti* (which is an aspect of Samvid real self) within himself he experiences unique kind of Bliss which is technically called the *Nijānanda*. He then discovers as it were in the next stage that the *Prānaśakti* which is an aspect of his pure Self to be functioning also on the cosmic plane. This realisation that the entire external world also vibrates with same *Prāna Śakti* as his own self fills him with such an ecstatic delight that he forgets himself completely, his attention shifts as it were from within to without. This stage of self forgetting ecstatic delight has been technically called *Nirānanda*. Again, in the next moment, he experiences the external creation, a self-manifested form of himself, a self-projection which he could withdraw into himself at will. He then has the feeling that the entire creation is contained within himself which he could project out at his will. This leads to the feeling of Bliss which is called *Parānanda*. In this next stage, the external creation and his self which are only the two aspects of the pure *caitanya*, his self appears to him as equally prominent and well balanced as it were. This experience of equilibrium of the *Idam* (the world) and *Aham* (pure self) causes experience of Joy at this stage which is known as *Brahmānanda*. In the succeeding stage, the aspirant experiences the dissolution of the seer or experiencer in him (*draṣṭā*) alongwith the world of experience (*drśya*). This "melting" of the two poles of experience *draṣṭā* and *drśya* has been symbolically represented in the *Trika* system by the imagery of Samvid Fire (*Samvidagni*) which "burns" as it were both *draṣṭā* and *drśya*. This gives rise to a feeling of Bliss in the aspirant, called, *Mahānanda*. In the last stage in which the *Sādhaka* succeeds in securing union with his real nature, and experiences himself as the transcendent Being that transcends and pervades at the same time every phase of his existence, he experiences the supreme Bliss of his Divine Union, called *Cidānanda*. This process of arousing *prāna śakti* and employing it for spiritual ascent to the highest level of experience has been called *uccara*.

In course of his spiritual journey towards the highest Goal the *sādhaka* is said to have a variety of experiences besides the feeling of unique kind of Bliss described above in each step of ascent (*Viśrānti*) in the successive moments. These experiences are indicative of his firm establishment (*sthiti*) in a particular stage of ascent as also of his release in gradual stages from the clutches of Matter. These experiences have been classified under five heads viz. *Ānanda*, *Udbhava*, *Kampa*, *Nidra* and *Ghurni*. As the *sādhaka* steps in a particular stage of ascent, he experiences Delight (*Ānanda*). This experience of Delight is due to two factors—firstly, as he enters a particular step he establishes contact (*sparsa*) as it were with his pure self. This 'touch' of the Absolute fills him with unique kind of spiritual Delight. Secondly, his entry



into particular stage marks the beginning of dissolution of his intimate association with matter in the form of his false identity with Not-self (idam) i.e. body.

The experience of dissociation of self from not-self by the sādḥaka grows in gradual steps till he finally feels himself completely dissociated from the matter. As a result of this, he feels himself disembodied as it were. This leads to his experience of a peculiar feeling of buoyancy and rising up, which has been technically called *udbhava* or upward motion. In this connection it may be pointed out here that the association of spirit with matter is on such a complex scale that complete dissociation of spirit for matter is a long drawn process and is achieved by the sādḥaka only after his achievement of Divine Union.

In that stage he merely succeeds in untying as it were one of the several knots (*granthi*) of the association of spirit with matter which causes this feeling of buoyancy in the sādḥaka.

With the slight slackening of intimate association of self with not-self in every stage of ascent, a kind of self-consciousness (*ātmabhāvanā*) grows into the sādḥaka, and he now turns his attention more and more towards his real self. As a result of this his material body which received most of his attention previously becomes deprived of all support and begins shaking as it were, before it goes out of his view or field of experience. This experience of the aspirant is technically called *kampa* or shaking.

With the disappearance of the material body from his 'gaze', he is left with nothing to experience. He therefore feels overtaken by a sleep like quiescence and peace; this unique experience of peace and consequent cessation of all movements of external and internal sense organs (*antahkaraṇa*) is called *Nidra* (sleep).

When the sādḥaka experiences dissolution of the sense of identity of self with non-self consequent on the disappearance of material body from his "gaze" as it were and cessation of all movements, he gets an intuitive glimpse of his pure self in a flash as it were. This vision of his self makes him realise that his self alone is, and that there is nothing apart from his Self. He looks around him, finds that the entire universe is only own self-manifestation. This experience of his omnipresence consequent on his looking round himself is called *Ghurni*.

When the sādḥaka has all these mystic experiences in a particular stage of spiritual ascent (*Viśrānti*), he is said to accomplish firm establishment in that particular stage, and thus qualify for further ascent.



It may be pointed out here that the Uccara of prāna śakti (vital air) is one of the several modes of spiritual discipline available to the aspirants who qualify for Ānavopāya. There are other modes more rigorous and therefore requiring far more personal efforts prescribed for aspirants belonging to lower category.

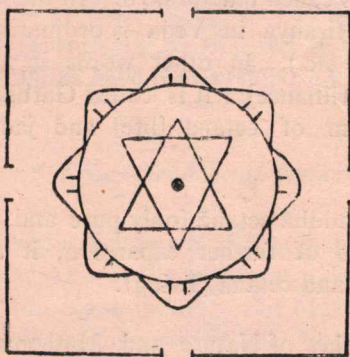
Abhinavagupta has given symbolic interpretation to such other means of spiritual discipline as dhyāna (concentration), puja (worship) etc. which are full of esoteric significance. As it is not possible to cover all esoteric elements found in the descriptions of sādhana in Trika system in one paper, we propose to conclude our study. But before closing this paper, it would perhaps be not out of place to say a few words about the rationale behind the esoteric elements occurring in sādhana. It is a well known fact that whenever the content of experience happens to be extremely complex, sublime and deep, having many-sided ramifications and implications, it cannot be expressed adequately in ordinary words. The language describing such sublime experiences is bound to be abstruse, enigmatic and symbolic. Ordinary words are incapable of signifying the totality of intuitive experience of the Reality; hence symbolism, mysticism and esotericism are natural outcome of such deficiency or limitation of language. Of course it is true that the finite mind is also incapable of apprehending the true nature of the Absolute which is infinite. But it is also equally true that finite mind is also capable of infinite expansion and transcending its limitation into the realm of what may be called Supermind, to borrow a phrase from Shri Aurobindo. Modern psychology with its doctrine of unconscious or subliminal personality testifies to the infinite capabilities of psychic apparatus which can perceive 'zones' that lie below and beyond the conscious field. St. Augustine called this Unique power of mind as 'a mysterious eye of the soul' by which man can see 'the light that never changes'. "This mind or intellect is different from that which reasons and is denominated rational" observed Plonus.



## A YANTRA OF THE TĀNTRIKAS and ITS IMPLICATIONS

By *Dr. Janardan Misra, Misrapur, Bhagalpur (Bihar)*

The followers of Tantra use Mantra and Yantra. Yantra is a diagram consisting of points, circles, triangles, squares etc. They are based on certain principles common to a number of aspects of Indian life.



1. The Yantra

The simplest form of yantra (also called Cakra) consists of a point in the centre within two triangles crossing each other. The apex of one is upward and that of the other downward. All this is within a circle. There are eight curves or petals of a lotus outside it. Within each petal there are two filaments (केसर). All this is within a square with four openings. All these are the symbols of certain principles.

The point in the centre stands for cit or cetanā (consciousness), the all pervading universal force. It is Sat (Being), cit (consciousness), and Ānanda (joy), which is its nature (स्वभाव).

Cit (universal force in the form of consciousness) expresses itself in the form of jñāna (Knowing), Icchā (Willing) and Kriyā (action). A common name for them is Trīśakti (the three forces) in Tantra, Tridhātu in Veda and Tri-Ratna in Buddhism. These three forces are represented by three points (Bindu) put about the central cit-bindu.



When joined together, they form a triangle. The technical name for this triangle in Veda and Tantra is Yoni (abode, place of origin).

In the process of creation, this Tri-Śakti works in the form of sthiti (stability) and gati (movement). They are inseparable. One can not function without the other. To illustrate : on account of certain commotion (स्पन्द) in water a wave rises over the surface of the ocean. The water keeps on moving and staying. Otherwise the wave will not take shape. This is the process of inseparable sthiti and gati in the whole of creation. The triangles representing them always cross each other or remain joined in some form or other to indicate that these two are inseparable. The triangle with apex upward indicates Sthiti (stability). In Tantra it is called Śivatattva or Śiva-yoni and the one with its apex downward stands for gati (movement). It is called Śakti-tattva or Śakti-yoni.

The Bindu (central point) in its movement expands and takes the form of a circle. It is called mūlaprakṛti. In the language of veda it is Hiranyagarbha. Hiranya in Veda is ordinarily used in the sense of Tejas (light, brilliance etc.). In other words it may be called Tejah pinda (a mass of brilliance). It is called Garbha (womb) because the creation in the form of cetana [life] and jadā [lifeless] proceeds from it.

Upto this, it is Śuddha eetanā [only pure and shapeless consciousness]. In its process of further expansion, it assumes shapes in the form of jadā [lifeless] and cetana (living).

According to the law of Nature and Mathematics a circle and a curve are always in tension and motion. It will not remain stationary. The circle expands and splits up into eight curves,—the five elements [earth, water, fire, air, and sky] Manas, Buddhi and Ahankāra. In vedānta it is called Bhinnā Prakṛti [split up Nature] and in Tantra it is called Puryaṣṭaka [the eight abodes]. Outside the circle it is shown in the form of eight curves or eight petals of a lotus. In each petal, there are two filaments [केसर]. They stand for Jiva and Jagat or cetana and Jaḍa. Here the universal force, the Supreme One [Ādyā Śakti,—the primeval force of the Śāktas] takes shape and becomes comprehensible in the form of Jiva and Jagat,—Parā and Aparā Prakṛti of Vedānta.<sup>1</sup>

१. क. भूमिरापोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च ।  
अहंकार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ॥ गीता ७.४  
अपरेयमितस्त्वन्यां प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे पराम् ।  
जीवभूतां महाबाहो ययेदं धार्यते जगत् ॥ गीता ७.५



The condition of creation before this stage has been described in Veda,—नासदासीन्नोसदासीत् तदानीम् (in that condition there was neither any form nor any formlessness). These eight petals further split up into sixteen petals to represent the different forces of Nature working in the creation. They represent the 24 [8+16] forces of Śrī Cakra, implying at the same time the 24 letters of Gāyatri, 24 incarnations of Viṣṇu, 24 Bodhisattvas and 24 Tirthankaras of the Jainas. The 24 Tattva [principles] of Sāṅkhya also appear to have been deduced from this idea.

The curves of petals go on expanding and become stable in a square, the symbol of Sthiti [stability]. This square has four openings. They stand for the four Vedas. The idea is that by entering the four Vedas one can penetrate through all the meshes and destructions of Māyā and reach the Amṛtattva (the state of immortality and highest bliss), the central point, the Bindu-sthāna, of the yantra.

This, in brief, is the general description and one of the implications of the yantra. It is surprising to find that a large number of forms, images and symbolic figures have been created on the model of these principles.

## 2. The Sacrificial Altar (यज्ञवेदी)

The Altar of the Vedic Sacrifice is also prepared on the same principles. The square of the Altar is the square of the yantra. The covering roof stands on the eight pillars. The Mekhala [mouth of the pit for fire] is the circle of Hiranyagarbha of the Yantra. Yoni of fire is inside the pit. The Sacrificial fire, the symbol of the Supreme one is placed [Agnyādhāna] on the central point [Bindusthāna] of the yantra, inside the pit.

## 3. Śivalinga

On account of ignorance Śivalinga is wrongly identified with phallus. According to śilpa-śāstra [treatise on sculpture] the lower portion of śivalinga, under the ground is square. This represents kriya-śakti, Brahma—aṁśa and its Bija is [अ] A. This is the outer square of

ख. तन्मात्रोदयरूपेण मनोऽहं बुद्धिवर्तिना ।

पुर्यष्टकेन संरुद्धस्तदुत्थं प्रत्ययोद्भवम् ॥ स्पन्दकारिका ३.१७

ग. अष्टधा युक्तो बहति बन्धिरुग्रः पिता देवानां जनिता मतीनाम् ।

ऋतस्य तन्तुं मनसा मिमानः सर्वा दिशः पवते मातरिश्वा ॥ अथर्व १३.३; १६



Yantra. The middle portion above it has a circular structure. Ordinarily it is round. According to śilpa-śāstra it may be round, square, triangular or of the shape of a lotus with eight petals. Ordinarily within the circle eight sockets are cut. The circle represents the Mula-prakṛti or Hiranyagarbha and the eight sockets represent the split up Prakṛti [Bhinnā Prakṛti], the puryaṣṭaka of Tantra. This portion represents Icchā-śakti, Viṣṇu-aṅśa and the Bija is ॐ [U]. This is the creative and preservative aspect of the Supreme One. This is the middle portion of the Yantra in the square.

The round portion of Śiva-linga fitted at the top in the eight sockets is the jñāna-śakti, Rudra-aṅśa and its Bija is म [M]. According to śilpa-śāstra, this third portion may be round, of the shape of a crescent ardha-Candra] or trapaṣākāra [like a cucumber].

The sacred water poured over it represents Soma-rasa, Amṛta or Āpah of Veda. It flows in the round portion (Mūla-prakṛti) representing the whole of creation to sustain and preserve it. The opening made in it for the water to flow out is called Soma-sutra [clue to immortality] Amṛtattva, and stepping over it is prohibited. [Soma-sūtram na langhayet].

Thus a Śivalinga represents Trīśakti [jñāna, Icchā and kriyā], Trideva [Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa] and अउम=ओं [Aum], the name [Vācaka] of the Supreme One, in Veda, Vedānta and Tantra.

#### 4. Sthambha (Pillar)

A pillar is another object of veneration for the Hindu, Bauddha and Jaina. It is constructed on the same principles as those of the Yantra or Śivalinga. The lower portion of the pillar is square. It indicates the Brahma—aṅśa. The portion over it has eight sides. This is Viṣṇu—aṅśa. Over it there is Rudra-aṅśa, technically called Rudra-Kaṇṭha. It is sometimes represented with the sixteen sides of the pillar or a ring made like the external appearance of a cucumber. Over this, there is the Amṛta Kalaśa [pitcher of immortality] made or indicated in various ways. If there is only one pillar, it is mounted with some deity or its symbol : bull for Mahādeva or Buddha, Garuḍa for Viṣṇu, lion for Durgā, Buddha etc. If there is a number of pillars to support a structure, certain devices are made over the Amṛta-Kalaśa to support the joint of the structure over it.



5. *Prāsāda* (Temple)

*Prāsāda* means a Temple. To distinguish from it, a palace or palatial building is called a *Rāja prāsāda*. It is built on the same principles as those of a yantra or *Śivalinga*.

The outlay of a temple is a square. On each side of the four compound walls there is a door [*Gopuram*]. These four doors represent the four doors of the yantra standing for the Vedas.

The central shrine stands on the *Bindu sthāna* (central point) of the yantra.

The structure of the central temple is the image of the Supreme One. It begins with a square with four doors. Three of them are closed from outside. They are called *Ghanadvāra*. The fourth remains open for entrance into the temple. This portion is *kriyā-śakti* or *Brahma-aṅśa*. At the top of this quadrangular structure, the middle portion of the temple, the *Viṣṇu-Aṅśa* begins. It is round. In large temples, many small *Śikhara* [top of a temple] of different height resplendent with *Kalaśa*, are constructed. They are called *Mañjari*. They represent the different *Loka* or *Bhuwana* (worlds) of creation. In eight parts of this portion, there are eight *Mithuna* or pairs of males and females, indicating the universal force engaged in the process of creation and its preservation. Their calm and quiet posture displaying great art and dignity has been a puzzle for a critic without any spiritual background. Some Western critics have suggested that it indicates the dignified approach of Asia to conjugal life. But it really indicates the portrature of the functioning of the forces of the Supreme One that create, recreate, preserve and destroy. The number of such *Mithuna*, according to *Mahānirvāna* may be fifty indicating the fifty *Matṛkā Varna*, the forces of creation. Even in a small temple, there should be at least one pair. Otherwise, the symbol will not be complete.

The *Āmalaka* [stone ring] over the *Śikhara* [top of the temple] indicates the *Mūlaprakṛti* or *Hiranya garbha*. Over the ring there is the *Amṛta Kalaśa* indicating *Amṛtattva* [immortality] *Cit-Śakti* or *Brahmānanda*. It indicates the same as the *Bindu* [dot] in the centre of the Yantra. The flag at the top of the temple indicates the endlessness and vastness of the *Turiya-tattva* [Supreme One], the origin of the universe. Just below *Amṛta Kalaśa*, on the ground in the middle of the temple, within the *Vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala*, a *Nidhikalaśa* [pot of treasure] is placed under ground. It indicates that the creation begins from *Amṛtattva*, that is from *Amṛta Kalaśa* and end in *Nidhikalaśa*, that is this wonderful world (अद्भुतजगत्).



6. *Stūpa*

Stūpas of the Bauddhas are only the magnified form of Śivalinga or pillar. The pedestal of a Stūpa is square. The four doors of Sānchi stūpas and elsewhere indicate the four doors of the square of the yantra or the Gopurams of a temple. The middle portion is round and studded with the images of Buddha. It indicates the Viṣṇu-aṅśa. At the top of it there is a small structure called Stūpikā. It is in the place of the Amṛta-Kalaśa of the temple. Stūpika means the root, that is, the starting point of the creation. This is the idea behind the Amṛta Kalaśa. It is surmounted with a chatra (umbrella) of three seven or fourteen chatras. When the number is three, it indicates the three worlds or Triśakti, which in Buddhism has been renamed Tri-ratna : jñāna is Buddha, Icchā Dharma, and Kriyā is Sangha. The seven chatras indicate the Sapta-loka (the seven worlds) and the fourteen indicate the caturdaśa—bhuwana [the fourteen worlds] of the Indian cosmology.

7. *Puruṣa* [पुरुष]

Puruṣa in Veda and in Ādhyatmic (spiritual) sense means the All Pervading Force (पुरिषयानः पुरुषः = One who pervades the creation, पूरकत्वात् पुरुषः = one who fills the creation). As he is formless, he is supposed to have innumerable hands, feet etc. When he assumes form he is supposed to have appeared in the shape of a human being with hands, feet etc.

This human form is supposed to be the image of the Supreme One in a miniature form. It takes form on the principles of Tri-Śakti [jñāna, Icchā and Kriyā]. If a human form would stand erect and a line be drawn around his feet, it will form a quadrangle. This is the starting point of Kriyā-śakti or Brahma-aṅśa. It covers the legs upto the hips. If the legs be removed, all activities of the body are practically gone. From the hips to the neck it is covered by Icchā-śakti or Viṣṇu-aṅśa. It is responsible for creation and its preservation, which is the chief function māyā (Nature?), — Ekohaṃ bahu syāma. All jñānendriyas [senses of knowledge] are in the head above the neck. This is Rudra-aṅśa. The hair, the abbreviation of which is śikhā [the tuft of hair on the crown] is the indication of the all pervading and endless form of the Formless One, namely Turiya or Turiyātita tattva [the Supreme One] the flag of the temple, the origin of त्रिशक्ति [the three forces]. Thus every human form is the image of the Supreme One. It is a walking onkāra (ओं) and its hair or śikhā represents the अर्धमात्रा (ः), Therefore it is said that man is the nearest image of The Supreme one पुरुषो वै प्रजापतेर्नेदिष्टम् शतपथ २. ४. १. २४].



## 8. The images of gods and goddesses.

There are three kinds of images,—*Sthānuka* (standing), *Āsina* (sitting) and *Śayāna* (lying). All these images are made on the same principle as enunciated in connection with the Yantra. The *sthitī-aṅśa* is indicated by a quadrangular pedestal. Above it, in the inner portion, there is a lotus with eight petals indicating *pūṣyaṣṭaka* or *Bhinna Prakṛti*. This portion is surmounted with a circle indicating *Mūla-prakṛti*, and at the place of Bindu [central dot] the image stands or sits as the case may be.

[a] *Sthānuka* [standing]

The *Sthānuka* image stands in the centre, the Bindu-*sthāna* of the yantra. The image represents the creation. The different forces working in the creation are represented by its arms and weapons. *Tri-śakti* are the three eyes and the crown over the head stands for the worlds [*Loka-mukuta*]. The *mukuta* [crown] is of three kinds,—*Karanda-mukuta*, *jatā-mukuta* and *kirita-mukuta*. The layers or divisions of the *karanda-mukuta* are generally three, seven or fourteen. They represent the *Loka* (worlds). The *jatā-mukuta* is generally in three coils indicating the three *Loka*. In *Kirita-mukuta* the *Lokas* are indicated by the number of Jewels. When the number of jewels or marks on the *Mukuta* is five, it indicates *Panca-tattva*, *Panca-Brahma*, *Panca-Preta* etc. standing for the forces working in the creation.

[b] *Āsina* (sitting)

In *Āsina* form, the image sits on the Bindu-*sthāna* of the yantra. The significance of the other indications are the same as described above. The pedestal is quadrangular. It is the square of the yantra. The lotus of the pedestal is the lotus of the yantra. It stands for creation,

[c] *Śayāna* [lying]

The lying images of *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva* and *Buddha* are common. In the image of *Viṣṇu*, *Gati* and *Sthiti* are represented by the serpent and the earth respectively. The Ocean is the *Samudra* of *Veda*, the expanse of *Cetana* or *Cit* (consciousness). The *Puruṣa* is the form of the All pervading Formless One. The navel is the central dot of the yantra. It is the point of the origin of the lotus of creation. *Ananda* is the root [कन्दम्] of this lotus [आनन्दमयकन्दम्]; the stalk is made of *cetanā* [संविन्मयनालम्]; *Prakṛti* is the petal [प्रकृतिमयपत्रम्]; and the changes in *Prakṛti* are the filaments [विकारमयकेसरम्]. Over it sits *Brahma* [the creator] with four faces, the four *Vedas*, the four openings in the square of the yantra.



The same description is applicable to the lying image of śiva also. In place of Brahmā, Tripurā sits here over the lotus of creation springing from the navel of śiva.

The lying image of Buddha suggests the quietude of the kūṭastha, the inactive Brahma.

#### 9. कामकला [Kāmakaḷā]

In Saundarya-lahari [V. 21] Kāmakaḷā has been described as :

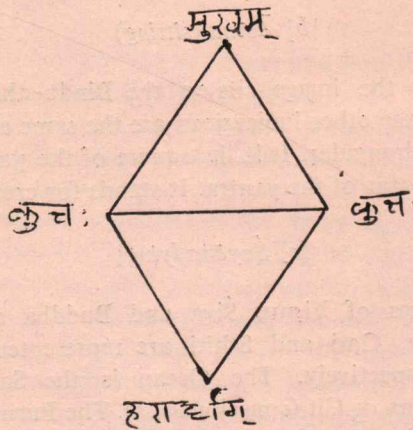
मुखं बिन्दुं कृत्वा कृचयुगमधस्तस्यतदधो  
हरार्धं ध्यायेद्यो हरमहिषि ते मन्मथकलाम् ;

The meaning of the verse is :—

“One point should stand for the face. Below it the two points should stand for the breasts. Below it the half of Hara should be contemplated upon. [Half of Hara the Supreme one is His Śakti-Force. It is represented by a triangle with its apex downword). O the most beloved of Hara ! if one contemplates on this Kāmakaḷā (he will achieve a certain success].”

The Tāntrikas generally calculate by points and by lines joining them. It makes even the complicated ideas clear.

In the form of Bindu [points] and Rekḥā [lines], the ideas expressed above would take the following form :



Here the point representing face (मुखम्) stands for jñāna-Śakti, as all the senses of knowledge are there. The two points standing for the breasts [कुचः] indicate Icchā and Kriyā of the R̥gveda and Tantra. In Vedānta both of them are expressed by the word आनन्द [Ānanda]. Harārdha means half of Śiva, that is, Śakti. Thus the point below is the jñāna point of Śakti-Triangle. The triangle [योनिः] with its apex upwards is Śiva-triangle and the other with its apex downwards is



Śakti-triangle. Both of them are inseparable. The Bindu of Cit is implied within the two. These are the two triangles of yantra described in yantra above.

#### 10. अर्धनारीश्वर (*Ardhanārīśvara*)

Ardha-nārīśvara means Supreme One [ईश्वर] shown as half male and half female.

As already pointed out in the two triangles of the yantra crossing each other, the forces of sthiti and Gati are symbolised. They are inseparable. In Ardha-nārīśvara sthiti is symbolised by Śiva in the male portion and Gati is expressed by Śakti in the female portion of the figure.

It is further developed into the inseparable forms of Śiva-Pārvati absorbed in the cosmic dance.

#### 11. नटराजा [*Natarājā*]

In the image of Natarājā Sthiti and Gati have been shown as the expression of a single force, the Supreme One. In the process of dance the moving foot represents Gati and the stationary one represents Sthiti. Thus, the same force in action appears as Sthiti and Gati.

Ardha-nārīśvara also is shown in the dancing pose of Natarājā.

In the image of Natarājā, the circle is Mūla-prakṛti or Hiranya-garbha, the bunches of five flames attached to it are the five elements of Bhinnā Prakṛti and the figure below under his foot stands for Avidyā.

#### 12. नटवर [*Natavara*]

Kṛṣṇa is Natavara is great [dancer]. The principles of his dance have been represented in the yantra. Śrī Kṛṣṇa is Bindu [the central point] of the yantra. Rādhā is the circle of Mūla Prakṛti or Hiranya-garbha, Rukmiṇi, Satyā and others the अष्टनायिका [eight beloved] are the Bhinnā Prakṛti. They are surrounded by innumerable Gopis [maids] accompanied by as many Kṛṣṇa. They are the jada-cetana or Jiva-Jagat represented by the pairs of filaments of the lotus [creation]. At the call of the flute of the Lord the eternal cosmic dance, that is the yantra-kriya goes on.

#### 13. The Image of Durgā

The image of Durgā in Durgā-Sapta-Śati of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa is imagined on the same principles. It is said there that the combined forces [तेजः] of the gods appeared like a column of fire. It condensed



and assumed the form of a lady. Her feet were formed with Brahma-aṇśa [ब्रह्मणस्तेजसा पादौ] ; the middle portion of her body with eight arms was formed by Viṣṇu-aṇśa [बाहवो विष्णुतेजसा] and her head was formed of Śambhu-aṇśa [यदभूच्छाम्भवं तेजस्तेनाजायत तन्मुखम्]. Here the Goddess is अव्याकृता प्रकृति: [Mūla prakṛti] and puruṣa combined; the eight arms are Bhinnā prakṛti of the yantra, and Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śambhu stand for Kriyā, Icchā and jñāna.

#### 14. षट्चक्र (The six Wheels)

In the formation of the six cakras or yantras of the yogis and the Tāntrikas, the same principles work. The six cakras begin with the Ājñā-Cakra. There are two petals of a lotus in it, and in the middle stands Itara Linga (इतरलिङ्ग) in the form of a shining Bindu [dot]. The two petals are the two triangles of the yantra and Itara-Linga is the Bindu within the two triangles of the yantra. The ṣaṭ Cakra ends in Mūlādhāra. Here the Kundalini surrounds the Svayambhu Linga in three and a half coils. Kuṇḍalini is the active form of the inactive form of the Supreme One. The entire creation is within its coils round Śiva, the inactive Brahma. The first coil is the square of the yantra. The second coil is that of the petals of the lotus and the circle, the third is the coil of the two triangles, and the remaining half coil, like the Ardha-mātra of the Ōṅkāra stands for the Turiya-tattva i.e. the Supreme One represented by the central point of the yantra. The Mūlādhāra is in the form of a square, the outer square of the yantra.

#### 15. Veda and Yantra

A careful study of Veda and particularly the Ṛgveda shows that the ideas and principles have been taken and developed from Veda in Tantra.

Some of the Ṛcas of the Ṛgveda can not be explained without the half of Tantra. When put in the form of Yantra the ideas become quite clear.

[ i ]

In the Ṛgveda the following verse occurs :

द्यौर्मै पिता जनिता नाभिरत्र

बन्धुर्मै माता महती महीयम् ।

उत्तानयोश्चम्वोर्योनिरन्तर

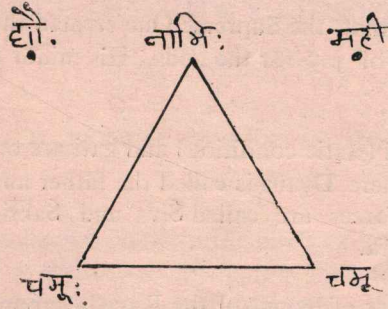
ता पिता दुहितुर्गर्भमाधात् । ऋ० मं १६४.३३



The ordinary literal meaning of the verse is :

“The sky is my father, the cause of my birth. There is the navel, which is my relation. My mother is this great earth. Within the two open cups of Soma is Yoni. Here the father impregnated the daughter.”

Apparently the ideas of the Ṛcā are quite incoherent. Put in the form of Yantra the ideas become quite clear. The diagram of these ideas would be like this :



Here Dyaus is Gati (father), Mahi is Sthiti (mother) (Nābhi) the place of origin (in the purāṇas the navel of Viṣṇu) is the jñāna point of spandana (throbbing) the place of origin of the lotus of universe. The two cups of Soma are the Icchā and Kriyā of Ṛgveda and Tantra and Ānanda of Vedānta. The yoni (triangle) formed by joining these points indicate Tri-Śakti—jñāna, Icchā and Kriyā—the daughters of the Supreme One. The creation came into existence with the help of these forces of the creator.

(ii)

The following Mantras of the Ṛgveda are found in all the Vedas :

इदं विष्णुविचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदम् ।

समूढमस्य पांसुरे ॥

त्रीणि पदा विचक्रमे विष्णु गोपा अदाभ्यः ।

अतो धर्माणि धारयन् ॥

ऋ० मं १.२२.१७, १८

“Here Viṣṇu [the all pervading Supreme One] made a movement and placed his foot thrice. [Everything] was contained within his feet covered with dust.”

“The formidable Viṣṇu the protector of all, moved his feet thrice. Thus he sustained Dharma (the force that creates and sustains the creation).”



In the Yantra Viṣṇu is indicated by the central point of the Yantra. The three steps are Tri-Śakti, the triangles over the central point of the Yantra.

(iii)

त्रीण्येक उरुगायो विचक्रमे यत्र देवासो मदन्ति ॥

ऋ० मं द. २६.७

“The All Pervading (उरुगायः बहुषु देशेषु गन्ता-सा०) is one. He moved his feet thrice where the gods rejoice.”

The idea is that the Supreme One created the world by Tri-Śakti. It was a matter of joy for the gods, His minor forces working in the creation.

In Veda Sthiti (static condition) and gati are ordinarily indicated by Dyāvā-prthivī, where Dyaus is called the father and Prthivi the mother. In Tantra these forces are called Śiva and Śakti and in the Purāṇas Pārvatī-Parameśvara.

A large number of hymns of the Ṛgveda support this treatment.



## A NEW APPROACH TO PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

OR

### ŚĀKTA—VEDĀNTA PHILOSOPHY

By

DR. SRIJIVA NYAYATIRTHA

It will be a welcome news to the circle of scholars in the field of the Philosophy that in the nineteenth century the late Pandit Panchānana Tarkaratna of Bengal, then residing at Vārānasi, thought of this new approach, —an endeavour made for a combination between Śākta doctrine and Vedānta Vidyā. The name Śākta-vedānta Philosophy may sound a little peculiar to the ears of many scholars. The term, though apparently strange, when taken separately become clear. Śākta Philosophy sometimes is termed as Pratyabhijñā Darśanam and the very name Śākta Darśanam' is found in Tantrasāstra in the Chapter on the worship of Srīvidyā whereas the other part 'Vedānta Philosophy' is well known to all scholars.

M.M. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj observed in his introductory note on the Brahma-Sutra-Śakti-Bhāṣya)

The appearance of the present work which undertakes to interpret the Brahma Sutras from the stand point of Śākta-Philosophy is a welcome addition to the above list. The author is one of the most distinguished sanskrit writers of Modern India, whose services in the cause of Sanskrit scholarship (philosophical, religious and secular) and of general Indian culture, as in other spheres have certainly found recognition in the country.

His commentary is peculiarly interesting and valuable-interesting, because it represents a unique effort to formulate Śakti Philosophy on the basis of Vedic authority and valuable because it is a learned and methodical exposition of the Śāstras in keeping with the fundamental metaphysics of Śākta Vedānta evolved by the author himself.



The system of thought propounded by the present author is all his own, though it bears upon it a clear stamp of similarity with some existing schools. It is a form of Monism, but of a different type from the doctrines of Śankara or of the Kashmirian Śaivas. The supreme reality for instance, conceived by him as Eternal Being, transcendent in nature and blissful in character and is variously called Mahāśakti—Para Brahman or Atma. The principles of pure consciousness or spirit and of non-consciousness or Matter, technically known as Śiva or Puruṣa and Śakti or Prakṛti—are as it were two distinct (and contradictory) aspects of the same Fundamental Reality related together by an eternal bond”.

It is a new approach towards the evolution of philosophical thoughts. Evolution in the sense that in Indian Philosophy Matter (Acit) and spirit (cit) have never been conceived as two parts of one Brahman (the Absolute). Acharya Śankara dismissed the material world, saying that it is merely an illusion. Subsequent schools of Vedānta, though not supporting the view, still were not bold enough to hold that spirit and Matter are the two aspects of one supreme Being. According to Śākta Vedānta Philosophy, this view has been fully supported by Tantra, the Geetā, the Upaniṣad and the Saptasati. We find in Tantra Śakti or Brahman has been compared with a grain of pea having two lobes under one cover.

The author of this new system of Philosophy felt the necessity to establish his doctrine for the benefit of common men who could not be expected to enter into the fourth stage (Āśrama) of life. It is true no doubt, that for the sannyāsins the view of Śankarāchārya is very effective inasmuch as renunciation of attachment depends on the ideas of all the outward world having no real existence, illusory and transitory things cannot bring any real bliss to a soul seeking it.

But the people in general, devoid of metaphysical thoughts, may acquire an experience in realising the whole outward universe as real, by seeing, touching, testing etc ; it is a manifestation of Mahāśakti and Brahman, a combination of matter and spirit.

In spite of various doctrines regarding Indian philosophy, it is a striking point to note that Śākta Philosophy owes its origin mainly to the R̥gveda. Rather we may say that the Vedas are the store house of all doctrines of Philosophy in India. Every individual method of Philosophy quotes authority from the Vedas in support of the particular view contained in it. In the R̥g Veda, it is obvious that there are many gods assuming male or female shape and they have been conceived as father and mother of the universe.



द्यौर्मै मिता जनिता नाभिरत्र बन्धुर्मै माता पृथिवी महीयम् ।

(Rgveda 1.164.33)

पितुर्मातुरध्याये (9.73.5)

.....and many other passages.

But it should be kept in mind that Indian philosophy in the main tries to establish Monism and solve all conflicts arising out of pluralistic conception. In the Rgveda we find the origin and the clue to the basic philosophical thoughts having a potentiality for their furtherance in divergent directions. The Rgveda clearly declares that all godheads are mere manifestations of one Brahman, the Absolute.

The idea of Śākta Philosophy was firmly confirmed by the hymn (10th Mandala, 126 Sūkta). The purport of the hymn is that Vāk—the daughter of Ambhṛna and a seer as well, realised herself as the Absolute and she declared with firmness that the self of her is the inward energy of the deities-Rudras, Vasus, Ādityas, and Viśvadevās, she keeps Mitrāvaruna, Indra, Agni and Twin Aśvins under her control. (अहं रुद्रे भिर्वसुभिश्चराम्यहम् etc), she was the primordial cause of creation of the universe and she moves like wind without having momentum from any other agency.

This hymn was recognised by the old savants of India as the origin of the book saptaśati a portion of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and was regarded as a religious book as venerable as the Geetā.

Some Western scholars criticised and advanced their arguments in saying that Indian Philosophies could not solve the problem of correlation between separate entities, but the universe according to the conception of Metaphysics is made up of animate and inanimate objects. NyāyaVaiśeṣika and sāmkhya-yoga systems had to admit that atoms and Prakṛti (primordial cause) are eternal and collateral with God or Puruṣa. In Vedānta system matters or the phenomenon world are considered illusory, having no real existence, which goes against our experience,

Śākta Philosophy has taken up the responsibility to solve the problem ; animate and inanimate substances are thought to be the two parts of one whole like the seed of a pea having two lobes under one cover (In Tantra Śakti has been described as चणकाकृति or like a pea-seed). In philosophical consideration one portion is immutable while another part is mutable, but the two parts are never separable. The union of śiva and śakti comprises one whole. Sri Śaṅkarācārya also supported the combination in a passage of Saundarya-lahari-stotra.



शिवः शक्त्या युक्तो यदि भवति शक्तः प्रभवितुं  
न चेदेवं देवो न खलु कुशलः स्पन्दितुमपि ॥

When śiva is united with Śakti, then he becomes energetic, otherwise the lord is incapable even of movement.

The idea is that when the inanimate and animate entities are combined together, the creative energy comes into existence. A grain-seed cannot germinate, if chaff is taken out of it, so spirit or consciousness, separated from matter or inanimate substance, trivial it may be, can produce nothing.

In describing the nature of Mahāśakti, the saptaśati also has explicitly shown in many passages, whatever there exists power in सत् or असत् (spirit or Matter) all is identified with Mahāśakti.

यच्च किञ्चित् क्वचिद् वस्तु सदसद्वाखिलात्मिके ।  
तस्य सर्वस्य या शक्तिः सात्त्वं किं स्तूयते तदा ॥

Therefore the problem, advanced by the occidental scholars may find solution in this system of philosophy. However the four chapters of Brahma-sutra, as interpreted by the author, establishes the above doctrine. It has been shown in the second aphorism of the First chapter of Brahma Sutra that Śakti or Brahman has been defined as the creator of Hiranyagarbha and in the third aphorism there, Śakti is the source of all knowledge or śakti is consciousness and in the fourth aphorism the two contradictory parts are reconciled by binding together with the eternal bond designated as बल.

परास्य शक्तिर्विविधैव श्रूयते  
स्वाभाविकी ज्ञानबल क्रिया च ॥

(śvetāswatara upaniṣad)

Nature of Śakti is defined as ज्ञान in one part and क्रिया in another part and बल is the cementing force connecting the two.

This Philosophy has no conflict with any other system, rather it is a synthesis of the six orthodox systems of Philosophy and solves all conflicts among the different branches of philosophy. It supports the point of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system regarding the reality of the outward world. It is one with vedānta of Sri Śāṅkarācārya the theory of monism. In corresponding to sāṅkhya and yoga doctrines Prakṛti and puruṣa being combined takes the position of Śakti or the Absolute. According to Mimāṃsa śakti has been accepted as a separate entity-



(which is denied by Nyāya System) originated from the sacrificial rites. but that Śakti is limited (खण्ड). In the śākta Vedānta Philosophy Śakti is unlimited or अखण्ड. All kinds of limited Śaktis are originated from the ब्राह्मन् or Mahāśakti,

न्यायागतं धनं स्तत्त्वं ज्ञानं निष्कण्डोऽतिथिः प्रियः ।

श्राद्धकृत् सत्यवादी च गृहस्थोऽपि हि मुच्यते ॥

This तत्त्वज्ञान or True knowledge which is beneficial to householders, is from śākta-vedānta Philosophy :

This is a form of Monism termed as sarvādvaitavāda, but of different type, as already shown above. The supreme Being as conceived in this system is neither exclusively spiritual nor exclusively material in character, it is rather a combination of both cit and Acit.

This essence of the self has to be realised by acquiring a knowledge of its unlimitedness, embracing both spirit and Matter simultaneously and thus the same knowledge gets rid of its limitedness and becomes infinite, it is converted to Brahmajñāna.



## EARLY PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATION IN THE R̥G VEDA

BY W. NORMAN BROWN

University of Pennsylvania

When the Aryans entered India in the second millennium B. C. they had at least two notions concerning the operation of the universe, which are copiously illustrated in the R̥g Veda and should probably be considered the earliest philosophically speculative notions in India of which we have record. These two notions, of course, were those of *ṛta* and *brahman*. *Ṛta*, we may say, was the sum total of principles or rules by which the universe operates—or, at least, should operate. *Brahman* was a concept of power—righteous or holy mystic power—existing in the universe. These two notions may perhaps be more clearly conceived if we use a simile of human political practice. *Ṛta* may be compared on a cosmic scale to the constitution of a modern state, which comprises the ordered formulation of the principles by which it regulates its existence, governs itself. *Brahman* may be compared to the power which vests in the state and may be attained or exercised by a being who possesses the necessary qualifications. Both *Ṛta* and *Brahman* are entirely impersonal and mechanistic. Though they are constantly present in the minds of the sages [*ṛṣi*] who composed the Vedic hymns, neither one is ever the object of worship or prayer any more than are rigid constitutions of the United States and of India or the unwritten constitution of Great Britain or than is the power which the state exercises under the constitution. There are no hymns in the R̥g Veda addressed to the *Ṛta* or the *Brahman*. Neither is in any sense deity; men cannot win their favor, incur their wrath, influence their operation any more than they can influence the law of gravity.

Vedic man did, however, consider that there were in the cosmos two kinds of beings more powerful than humans, whom he could influence. These were the gods [*devā*] and the demons (*rākṣas*). The gods were a kind of bureaucracy administering and enforcing the *Ṛta*. They and human beings were held to occupy the surface of the earth, the vault of heaven, and the midair, or atmosphere, between those two. This part of the cosmos was known as the Sat “Existent.” It had light, warmth, and



moisture, and in it the *Ṛta* prevailed. The demons occupied the Asat "Non-Existent," a fearsome region situated below the Sat, from which it could be reached by descending through a great chasm. The Asat was without light, warmth, and moisture, and in it the *Ṛta* did not prevail. Rather, the asat was without the *Ṛta* (*anṛta*).<sup>1</sup> Beings living in the Sat, whether human or divine, had a duty (*vrata*) to fulfill under the *Ṛta*. If a being fulfilled his duty perfectly, he was *satya* "true" or *ṛtavān* "conforming to the *ṛta*." A being who did not fulfill his duty was *asatya* "untrue, false" or *anṛta* "not observing the *ṛta*." The demons were relentless enemies of the *Ṛta* and of all beings living by the *Ṛta*, that is gods and humans. The gods and the demons were in an unending war with other. The gods were immortal, largely because of the copious draughts of Soma, the divine drink of immortality, which they could, to be sure, get for themselves, but seemed to prefer to receive from men through the medium of Vedic sacrifice.

In the daily battles the gods regularly defeated the demons, and slaughtered them in great numbers, for the demons, not having access to Soma, were mortal. The demons did, however, breed prolifically and rapidly. Each morning there was a new brood to wage war with the gods. The demons, being creatures of darkness, would come up out of the Asat at night; hence to Vedic man the night was a time of peril, when he should stay at home indoors; for if he went outside in the dark the demons, or a demon, might catch and destroy him. When daylight came, the demons returned to their home in the Asat.

This was the kind of world in which Vedic man found himself, and he saw that to protect himself from destruction by the demons he had to solve a double problem. He had first to identify and understand the forces operating in the cosmos and discriminate between those which were hostile to him and those that might be helpful to him in his perilous situation. Having identified the potentially helpful forces, he had then to learn how to get their aid in his behalf. Men and gods should be allies against the demons. To effect such an alliance was the basic purpose of the Vedic sacrifice. Vedic man's motive and procedure, we might say, were in spirit much like those of modern man when he uses the results of scientific achievements as the basis for technological application and invention to make his life safer and more comfortable. Vedic man's theories, as expressed in his mythology and his technological application of them in the elaborated ritual of his sacrifice, constituted his religion as it is first recorded in the *Ṛg Veda* and later is expanded in the succeeding Vedic texts, most notably in the philosophic speculations of the *Upaniṣads* and the elaborate ritualistic prescriptions of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Primarily the key to success in gaining his purposes lay in winning the favour and support of the gods, toward which end the sacrifice with its offerings to the gods was the principal tool.



It was fortunate, he may have thought, that the gods needed or at least deserved, the offerings which he made to them in the sacrifice and by means of which he provided them with food and above all with the divine drink of immortality, Soma, that filled them with fighting spirit and prowess. Vedic man also seems quickly to have concluded that the gods not only could foil the demons but in addition could, if they were in the mood, give man, the sacrificer, such concrete and worldly gifts as wealth, abundant offspring, long life, victory over human enemies, freedom from disease, and many minor benefits, and he asked for them.

The first step, therefore, was to understand the operation of the universe, and to do this it was essential, in his view, to penetrate to the origin of the universe, particularly the origin of the Sat and the Asat. The R̥g Veda contains a number of theories in answer to this inquiry. Presumably the earliest of these was that contained in the myth of the hero god Indra and the demon Vṛtra.<sup>2</sup> This myth began with the pre-creation state of chaos, when all the elements of the Sat were in existence but were unorganized and were concealed in the Asat, where they were held in restraint under a huge cover or obstruction indicated by a neuter noun *vṛtra* "covering," which in the myth is personified as the masculine Vṛtra. There did, however, also exist forces of expansion, liberation, development, change, personified in the myth as the Ādityas, gods sprung from a mother Aditi "Liberation." These gods, being unable to cope with Vṛtra, seem to have arranged for the birth of Indra, a child of Heaven and Earth, and a personification of the mighty physical strength inherent in nature. They wanted him for their champion in their struggle against Vṛtra,

Their hopes prospered. As soon as born Indra called for Soma, which he quickly obtained, and he drank three bowls or vats or lakes—the word is variously understood—of it, swelled up to a terrifying size that drove apart Heaven and Earth so that they have never since come together, and he himself filled the space between that Holy Pair. He then went searching for Vṛtra, armed with a powerful weapon called Vajra, a club or the lightning, forged for him by Tvaṣṭṛ, the artificer of the gods. The battle was fierce, but finally Indra brought the Vajra down upon Vṛtra's back and slew him. Out then came the cosmic Waters in the form of seven cows, lowing happily, and jointly pregnant with a child, the Sun. The Sat was then differentiated from the Asat, and the Sat contained the Waters and the Sun, thus being provided with warmth, light, and moisture, and the Ṛta was made to prevail there, with the god Varuṇa, one of the seven Ādityas, as its executive. The Asat continued to remain beneath the Sat, and there the demons continued to breed and endanger the beings living in the Sat.



The battle between Indra and Vṛtra has to be renewed every day; Indra is always victorious; every day a new Vṛtra emerges. This myth of Expansion or Progress versus Restraint or Inertia-shall we call it Liberalism versus Conservatism-may be looked upon as a kind of mythic speculation concerning cosmogony.

The Indra -vṛtra myth did not endure unchallenged; apparently it was too naive to remain convincing. Even in the Ṛg Veda itself scepticism is expressed about Indra. He is definitely downgraded, even denigrated, in RV 8. 100. 3, "Bring lovely praise to Indra, vying with one another, truthful praise, if he himself be true-even though one or the other says, 'Indra is not ! Who ever saw him? Who is he that we should praise him?'" The adjectives *anindra* "Non-Indra" and *āsraddhā* "without faith" are used of those who deny him, have no faith in him. In a more specific manner another hymn (RV 10. 121) addressed to the god Ka (Who? interrogative) shelves Indra. The hymn recites a number of great deeds, many of which are ordinarily ascribed to Indra, and after each recital of a deed or wonder asks the question, "To Whom as god shall we give worship with oblation?" The expected answer, of course would be "Indra !" But at the end of the hymn, in the concluding stanza-which is perhaps a later addition-the answer is given : "Prajāpati, other than you no one has encompassed all these creations!"<sup>3</sup>

Prajāpati is a vaguely defined deity, whose name means "Lord of Creatures." So too are other deities, who elsewhere in the Ṛg Veda are posited as creators, such as Viśvakarman "All-Maker" (RV 10. 81 and 82)<sup>4</sup> ; Brahmanaspati "Lord of Brahman (see above) ; Bṛhaspati "Lord of the Bṛh" (RV 2.24 ; 10.68, and elsewhere)<sup>5</sup>.

Much more clearly conceived as the instrument that produces creation is the sacrifice, which many sages, who may be regarded as officiants at the sacrifice, viewed as the efficient force used in the creation and operation of the Sat, as, for example, in RV 10.72. There the Ādityas are said to have performed the first sacrifice, whereby the Sat was born from the Asat. The more elaborate exaltation of the sacrifice as the great instrument to evoke the power inherent in the universe is in RV 1.164<sup>6</sup>. There Dirghatamas, named as author of the hymn, describes a vision he had of the sacrifice that produced creation. Three times in the hymn (stanzas 1, 31, 43) he says that he "saw" (*apaśyam*), that is, he had the vision splendid. After each declaration Dirghatamas describes a part of the sacrifice, giving the sequence of the whole ceremony in three sections as he saw it in his vision. We may assume that the ritual he describes was ritual which in his waking time he already regarded as effective and as embodying mythology which he accepted as true. Perhaps the whole mystical experience was composed



of material which before the experience he already considered valid and carried with him into the vision,

The sacrifice, its importance, and the need for exactitude in its execution is the dominant theme in the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas. Without baldly denying the early mythology, the hieratic evolution quietly passes it by, constantly producing new items of mythology to explain what seem to be innovations in the ritual.

The most important element in the sacrificial ritual was the wording employed in it. This consisted of the mantras ("holy utterances") which constitute the hymns, their enunciation, metres, and chants, all of which when used correctly had a magical effect. Recited exactly and properly intoned the mantras were all-compelling; the sacrificer's purpose was sure to be accomplished. The effect of sound is abundantly illustrated in the R̥g Veda and is not confined to sounds made by human beings. Even the croaking of frogs causes the rains to come (RV 7.103) and the rattling of the dice as they strike one another on the playing surface is a spell which the inveterate gambler cannot withstand (RV 10.34.1). Evil beings have noxious spells (*anṛtebhir vacobhiḥ* RV 7.104.8) with which they can injure human beings, but the spells of evil persons such as the Panis are of no avail against the spells of the qualified righteous such as Brhaspati—so says Saramā, Indra's messenger, in RV 10.108.6. Brhaspati is indeed the accomplished and unexcelled master of irresistible spell<sup>7</sup>.

Since sound is so important in Vedic man's thinking; it is not surprising that the goddess Vāc, "Holy Speech or Utterance," should in the view of some ṛṣis be regarded as creatress.<sup>8</sup> This function is brought out in RV 10.71; 10.125, and especially in RV 1.164. of which the ṛṣi is Dīrghatamas (see above). He says (stanza 41) that she produced the *salilāni* "unillumined floods of chaos" (cf. RV 10.129.3 *salilam*). She is mistress of the *akṣara* of the *ṛc*, "The (creative) syllable, on which the gods in highest heaven have all taken their seat—what will he who does not know it accomplish by means of the *ṛc* (RV 1.164.39)?" She taught the sacrifice to Agni, the god of the sacrifice, who taught it to the gods and communicates it to priests today (RV 1.164.21)?" He may be assumed to have communicated it to the first sacrificers, who laid down the precedents (*padāni*) for future sacrificers (RV 1.164.5). She provided that the instruction should be imparted to men so that every day they could constantly renew creation by means of the sacrifice and thus perpetuate the existence of the Sat. There may even have been a priestly cult devoted to Vāc, with Dīrghatamas as its most prominent member.

In all the speculations mentioned above the aim of the author of the speculation has been utilitarian. He was seeking a resource against the



evil that constantly threatens man; he was not seeking knowledge merely for its own sake. But in the *nāsadīya* hymn (RV 10.129) the author does not show interest in any tangible benefit to be derived from penetrating the great mystery of creation. We might say that he, at least, did want knowledge for its own sake. He was truly a philosopher, one who loved knowledge itself, without expecting any ulterior profit from it. The profit for him was merely the satisfaction of knowing. The hymn starts by taking us back before the differentiation of the Sat and the Asat, even before their very existence. "There was no midair and no heavenly vault;" none of the parts of the universe as Vedic man recognized it was in existence. "What covered all" the author asks, "Where? What was its protection? there a fathomless depth of the Waters?" (1). "There was neither death nor immortality then. There was the sheer neither of day nor of night." [Then comes creation.] "That One (*tad ékam*) breathed (came to life), though inspired by breath, by its own potentiality. Besides it nothing existed." (2). "There was darkness hidden by darkness at the beginning. This All was an unilluminated flood. The force (with power of evolution) which was enclosed in emptiness [a shell], That One, was born through the power of its own [creative incubating] heat." [3]. "In the beginning desire came over That [One], which became the first seed of mind. The sages by pious insight in their heart [that is, by introspection] found the relation of the Sat with the Asat." [4]. "A line of demarcation was stretched horizontally for them [the sages]. What was below it, what above? There were seed-depositors [above]; there were powers [below]; there was potentiality here below; there was emanation above." (5). "Who is there who knows? Who here (*iha*, in this world) can tell whence was the origin, and whence this creation? The gods are this side of creation [and hence did not witness it]. Who knows then whence it came into being, whether spontaneously or not? He who is its highest overseer in heaven (*Prajāpati*?) he surely knows-or perhaps he knows not. (7).

This remarkable hymn poses other questions besides those which it itself asks. What was the *Tad ékam* "That One"? The hymn gives no identification of it. Perhaps it is the Brahman, the power in the universe, which was mentioned early in this essay. What does the hymn mean or imply when it says that the sages found the relation of the Sat with the Asat by pious insight in their hearts, that is, by introspection? For the answer to this latter question we may get help from Upaniṣadic teachings; that is, the teachings concerning the individual soul (*ātman*) and the universal soul or power [*brahman*]. These two, the Upaniṣads teach us, are identical. If the hymn RV 10.129 means to imply this doctrine, then we have a reason why introspection on the part of the sages was believed to lead them to knowledge of universal mystery; through knowing oneself, one knows the universal Self. Introspection



is frequently stated in the Ṛg Veda to be the way in which qualified persons gain esoteric knowledge [e.g. RV 1.164.5]. The words used are *manasā* and *mañṣā*.

The hymn RV 10.129 is a clear expression of monism, even down to and including introspection as the means of answering the epistemological question of how we obtain knowledge. There are perhaps hints of monism elsewhere in the Ṛg Veda—I do not consider “henotheism” to be related to monism as a theological or philosophical predecessor of monism, but only as a common type of flattery to get a deity’s good will, this hymn is the most definite teaching of monism [advaita] in the RV.

So far has speculation advanced from the myth of Indra’s slaying of Vṛtra; What the length of time was in which this evolution of ideas took place we do not know, but the importance of the evolution we can assess, in that it started Indian philosophic speculation on a long and productive course.

#### Footnotes

1. JAOS [Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 61, 1941 pp. 76-80.
2. JAOS, vol. 62, pp. 85-98
3. JAOS, vol. 85, 1965, pp. 25,32.
4. Ibid., pp. 25, 30.
5. Ibid., pp. 26, 29.
6. JAOS, vol. 88. 1968, 199-218.
7. For a large number of such uses by Brhaspati see the long article by Professor A. Venkatasubbiah in *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, vol. XIV, 1940, pp. 133-165, 210-236, 274-185. He considers all his citations to be examples of the Act of Truth [*satyakriyā*], but I believe that most of them should be viewed only as instances of magic spells; this view I discuss in an article to be published in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1972.
8. *Pratidānam ... Studies presented to F. B. J. Kuiper on his 60th Birthday*, Mouton, 1970, pp. 393-397.



THE VIJÑĀNAVĀDA THEORY  
AS PRESENTED IN THE FOURTH CHAPTER  
OF THE MĀNDŪKYAKĀRIKĀ

*Dr. Hajime Nakamura, Tokyo Japan*

In the fourth chapter of the *Māndūkyakārikā* the metaphysical standpoint is changed from the preceding chapters; there is a shift from the *Māyā* theory to the *vijñānavāda* theory. The fourth chapter is of course influenced by the second and the third chapters but it is free from the views presented there. Having absorbed Buddhist philosophy, it forms a new metaphysics. It may be said that its nucleus is the *Vijñānavāda* theory. It is asserted that all objective phenomena exist as manifestations of Consciousness *vijñāna* and that there is nothing which can exist objectively and independently apart from Consciousness.

In order to clarify this principle of Consciousness-only, it is necessary first to negate the reality of things external. The author of the fourth chapter tries to prove this with various types of argument. They may generally fall into the following three types ;

1. The clarification of the non-origination of everything- If everything is non-originated and non-existent in the external world, then it must be considered to be falsely manifested.

2. Things external are experienced in the waking state. It is, however, demonstrated that the experience in the waking state are untoreal like those in the dreaming state.

3. Things external do not exist separately from the mind. It is explained that since they are dependent on the mind for their existence they are no more than false manifestations.

Let us examine each of these arguments.

1. Non-origination.



In the fourth chapter the author clearly declares that the theory of non-origination (*ajāti*) is the basis of his thought (IV,4: 5). Immediately following this declaration, he demonstrates that origination in its true sense is impossible. The arguments of this type can be classified in three kinds:

1. The negation of origination in general.
2. The negation of the view that cause and effect are not different.
3. The negation of the view that cause and effect occur in co-ordinate measure, i.e. the view that effect occurs as a reward to cause.

Among those, argument 1], which negates origination in general (IV, 6-10), is entirely the same as that in *Māṇḍūkyakārikā* III, 20-22. (IV,9-10 are merely a supplementary explanation).

Argument 2] (IV,11-13) is a refutation of the view of the *Satkārya-vādins* who assert that as far as the evolution of the world is concerned, the cause transforms itself into the effects, being not different from the latter. In terms of schools the *Samkhya* and those *Vedānta* scholars who accept the real origination of the world from *Brahman* are here primarily attacked. If we summarize this sharp refutation which is based on the *prasanga* method of the *Mādhyamika* school, it is as follows:

(a) The case in which the cause is non-originated (*aja*).

1. If the effect is a transformation of the cause or if the cause is in itself the effect, there is no difference between cause and effect. Therefore, if the cause is non-originated and eternal, the effect must also be non-originated and eternal. However, this contradicts our actual experience. Since this world is actually being originated and variously differentiated, it cannot be eternal. If we admit our empirical knowledge, everything as the effect is actually being originated and are non-eternal. Therefore, if one holds the theory that cause and effect are not different, then one must also accept that *Brahman* as the cause is actually being originated and is non-eternal [IV, 11; 12].

2. There is no example with which to support the argument that something is originated out of the principle which is non-originated.

Therefore, the *Parināmavāda* theory is without proof. (IV, 13ab).

(b) The case in which the cause is something originated (*jāta*).



If the cause which has the phenomenal world as its effect is "something originated," then there must exist a more fundamental cause for that cause. Thus, one falls into the error of *regressus and infinitum* (*anavasthā*, IV, 13cd; III, 27).

Argument 3] (IV, 14 ff.) is a refutation of such a generally accepted view of causality that good and bad actions as causes result in obtainment of the physical body, etc., as their effects and further that the physical body, etc. cause good and bad action; thus one continues to transmit endlessly. Therefore, this argument is concerned with the causal relationship among things phenomenal and not with the causal relationship between the universal cause and the phenomenal world as in the previous case.

Firstly, in using the term causality, one must accept the successive occurrence of cause and effect. If cause and effect occur simultaneously, then cause and effect are mutually unrelated like left and right horns. Thus they lose their characteristics as cause and effect (IV, 16).

However, even if successive occurrence is accepted, there remain the following difficulties unsolved :

(a) If cause gives rise to effect and further, effect gives rise to cause the successive relationship between cause and effect is not fixed. Then, it must be accepted that a child gives birth to its father (IV, 15).

(b) If cause gives rise to effect and, further, effect gives rise to cause, then both cause and effect are in the relationship of mutual dependence. It is, therefore, difficult to say that either of them is definitely established. Thus it is also difficult to hold that effects result from causes (IV, 17; <sup>2</sup> 18; 21).

(c)<sup>3</sup> If it is held that since there exists the example of seeds producing sprouts and sprouts producing seeds, there is no objection to accepting the mutually dependent relationship between cause and effect, the argument falls into the error of *sādhyaśama*, i.e. the error of "taking as the premise that which is to be established" (IV, 20),

(d) It may be stated that since the continuous line of cause and effect is without beginning the mutually dependent relationship between the two is possible. But, still, the causal relationship cannot be established. If the effect is without beginning, then it cannot give rise to the cause since the former is something which has not yet been originated. It is also true of the cause (IV, 23).<sup>4</sup>

These arguments which negate the causal relationship are in large part taken from the works of the *Mādhyamika* school.<sup>5</sup>



Having thus shown the reason why origination is impossible, all possible cases of origination are negated.

“Nothing is produced either from itself or from other than itself, nor is anything produced which is existent, non-existent, or both existent and non-existent.” (IV, 22)

“No non-existent has the non-existent as its cause, nor does any existent have the non-existent as its cause. No existent has the existent as its cause. And how can the non-existent have the existent as its cause ?” [IV, 40].<sup>6</sup>

Here we find a complete negation of the view of the early *Vedānta* school that the existent produces the existent and also of the false appearance theory of the second and third chapters of the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikās* according to which the phenomenal world appears falsely from the existent through *Māyā*.<sup>7</sup> The assertion of non-origination which is presented in the earlier portions of these *Kārikās* is here pursued to its very limits.

The theory of non-origination has finally brought about an important change even in the concept of the Absolute. In previous *Vedānta* philosophy the Absolute was postulated as existent (*sat*) whereas in the fourth chapter the Absolute is said to be not any one of the existent, the non-existent, both existent and non-existent, and neither existent nor non-existent. This ontological view is clearly in complete agreement with that of the *Mādhyamika* school of Buddhism.<sup>8</sup> The author of the fourth chapter has finally passed beyond the boundaries of the basic doctrines of the *Vedānta* school.

In this manner, since origination is impossible in any way, the Absolute Truth is non-origination.

“In truth, everything is non-originated.” (IV, 57)<sup>9</sup>

“The things which [are thought to be] originated, in truth, are not originated.”<sup>10</sup> (IV, 58)<sup>11</sup>

Thus the origination and destruction of the various things in the phenomenal world which we experience daily are not actualities. They are similar to origination and destruction of illusion.

“The origination of these (things) are like illusion, and that illusion does not exist.” [IV, 58]

*In the view of ordinary people things external appear to continuously exist, which is, in actuality, just as an illusory sprout comes forth*



from an illusory seed and from that sprout comes forth a similarly illusory seed (IV, 59). The painful fact of birth and death of the individual self, in truth, is like the birth and death of the individual self which is seen in dreams, made of illusion, or of supernatural power (IV, 68-70).<sup>12</sup> Thus, from the standpoint of the highest truth, it is impossible that the individual self is born or dies (IV, 71). Transmigration is empty (*śūnya*).

In this manner, since the existence of all things is not true, they cannot be said to be eternal. Since the death of anything does not actually occur, annihilation is also impossible. Eternality or annihilation can only be said of actually existent things. Therefore, it must be said that all things are non-eternal and non-annihilated (IV, 57<sup>13</sup>; 59<sup>14</sup>; 60).<sup>15</sup>

Here we see the author borrowing the ideal of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) or the middle path free from both the theories of eternality and annihilation, which has been advocated in the Buddhist philosophy from an ancient period. This is probably a direct influence from the *mādhyamika* school.<sup>16</sup>

## (II) The falsity of experiences in the waking state.<sup>17</sup>

In the fourth chapter, as in the previous chapters, it is asserted that the things experienced in the waking state are false like those experienced in the dreaming state.

“Like the body (experienced in dream everything seen by the mind (in the waking state) is unreal *avastuka*<sup>18</sup>.” (IV, 36).

In order to explain this point, the author firstly demonstrates, as in the second chapter, that the things experienced in dream are false (IV, 31-36) and then he asserts that the experiences in dream are not based on those in the waking state. The ordinary people think that the experiences in the dreaming state are based on those of the waking state and that although the things experienced in the dreaming state are false, those in the waking state which are their causes, are real (IV, 37). But, this view is in error. As has already been demonstrated, origination in general is impossible and everything is non-originated. Therefore, it is impossible to maintain that things real in the waking state give birth to things unreal in the dreaming state (IV, 38). Generally speaking, there is in no way origination of the unreal from the real (IV, 40).<sup>19</sup> Thus, the author of the fourth chapter thinks that since the relationship between the states of dreaming and waking as conceived by the ordinary people is impossible, the two states which are in such relationship are both false and that the things experienced in both states are also false. He states that the view which holds that various things, whether in the dreaming



state or in the waking state are real is an inverted one (*viparyāsa*, IV, 41).

Of course, the things in the waking state definitely have some effect on us and are perceived as such but they are not actually real. They are comparable, for example, to an elephant as a magical illusion<sup>20</sup> which is actually perceived and performs actions but which cannot be said to be real (IV, 44). Thus, the author of the fourth chapter indeed admits that there is difference between the two states, dreaming and waking, but holds that "to see the unreal" is common to both states.

These arguments seem to come mainly from the *Vijñānavāda*.

(III) The mutually dependent relationship between things external and the mind.

Firstly, the argument which accepts the reality of external objects is presented in the following manner: the perceiving action of the perceiver must have its real object. If there is no object, the perceiving action could not take place because of the absence of the subject and the object. Our psychic affection and perception, dependent on real objects, have them as their causes (IV, 24; 25).<sup>21</sup> In reply to this the author of the fourth chapter maintains that no object actually exists independently outside the mind (*citta*).

His argument is as follows: when we penetrate into the actuality of the Absolute Truth, we are able to see that the objects which are taken to be the causes of our psychic affection and perception are not their causes (IV, 25).<sup>22</sup> What we regard as objects (*artha*) are, in truth, "false appearance as objects" (*arthābhāsa*)<sup>23</sup> and "non-existent" (*abhūta*). Thus the mind has no contact with its object which is independent and real nor with its false appearance (IV, 26). This is the truth which holds good in the threefold time, past, present, and future (IV, 27).<sup>24</sup>

If that be the case, why is the object nothing but false appearance? Why must its reality be negated? Because everything is dependent on the mind. In other words it is "the object to be seen by the mind" (*cittadṛśya*, IV, 77). Therefore, we can argue as follows;

"These (objects) do not exist apart from the (mind)" (IV, 64; 66).<sup>25</sup>

"The false appearance of the objects (*arthābhāsa*) is not different from the mind" (IV, 26).

On the contrary, the mind cannot exist independent and separate from the object. Therefore, they are in mutually dependent relationship.



If one annuls this relationship, then it must be said that neither the mind nor its object could exist independently.

“In truth, both (=the mind and its object) should be seen mutually. How can it be said (with regard to either of them) that “it exists”? Both are devoid of (stable) essence<sup>27</sup> and perceived only as that which one has been conscious of.” (IV, 67)

In this manner both the object and the perceiving subject are in a mutual relationship, and thus if the object seen by the mind is empty, then the mind must also be empty.<sup>28</sup>

“Thus, neither the mind nor the object seen by the mind is originated”<sup>29</sup> (IV, 28).

“Thus the mind is not originated. And thus the objects are declared to be non-originated.” (IV, 46).

The author states that those who see the origination of both are like those who see the foot-prints of birds<sup>30</sup> in the sky (IV, 28). These views clearly coincide with the true *Vijñānavāda* which negates the reality of both the consciousness and its object.<sup>31</sup> As can also be seen from other points, the author of the fourth chapter here brings in the *Vijñānavāda* views which are based on Maitreya and Asanga.

From this fact we can see that the author of the fourth chapter of the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* occupies a unique position in the history of the *Vedānta* philosophy. Upavarṣa and Śaṅkara assert that, even if we negate all objects, we cannot doubt the existence of the self, as far as we possess self-consciousness and are aware of it.<sup>32</sup> This is the philosophical standpoint of the *Vedānta* school in general. The author of the fourth chapter, however, completely abandoning such a standpoint, asserts that the subject which is the nucleus of the existence of the individual self is, in truth, empty like the object. Such an assertion is originally made by Mahāyāna Buddhism and is quite exceptional in the *Vedānta* school.

The author of the fourth chapter uses the above-discussed argument to demonstrate the substancelessness (*dravyavābhāva*) of the things external and to lead one to the theory of Consciousness-only by negating the distinction (*nānātva*) of things [IV, 91<sup>33</sup>; 94]. But, even if one accepts this theory and holds that things external are merely false appearances, the question would remain : How do they falsely appear though unreal ? Even if they be false appearances, there must be some principle to explain their occurrence. According to the author of the fourth chapter, all phenomena falsely appear through the *movement* of *Vijñāna*. “*Vijñāna*” is not necessarily the same as the above-discussed



*manas* (mind), in the previous chapters but rather, it may be considered to be the principle which exists as the basis of the mind and its objects. The movement of this *Vijñāna* makes the object (*grāhya*) and the subject (*grāhaka*)<sup>34</sup> falsely appear (IV, 47). It is stated that *Vijñāna* "appears to have an origin" (*jātyābhāsa*) "appears to admit movement" (*calābhāsa*) and "appears to be an object" (*vastvābhāsa*)<sup>35</sup> (IV, 45).

The author presents an outstanding explanation of the process of false appearance by using the simile of moving the fire-brand (*alāta*).<sup>36</sup> When one places a flame to the end of a torch or piece of wood and moves it in the air, it appears to be straight or crooked, and so on (IV, 47 ff.). The circle of the fire-brand is no more than a false appearance in the form which is perceived but "substancelessness" is recognized in it. A similar explanation is used of the false appearance of the object. Since it is nothing but a false appearance (*ābhāsa*) due to the movement of *Vijñāna*, it is also devoid of substance. It is not based on anything other than *Vijñāna*. Such a false appearance can only be said to be unthinkable (*acintya*).

Hence, the opposition of the subjective "mind" (*citta*) and the objective things (*dharmāḥ*), i.e., the opposition of the subject and the object is due to the movement of *Vijñāna*. Therefore, we cannot regard either of them as a more fundamental principle. It is stated that.

"The things are not born from the mind (*citta*) ,nor the mind from the things" (IV, 54).

Thus the philosophical tendency to get one from the other is rejected.

Now, when the *Vijñāna* ceases to move, the false appearances of phenomena also completely return to nothingness. This is comparable to the fact that when a fire-brand ceases to move, the various forms which have been falsely appearing also cease to exist. The nature of *Vijñāna* itself is "unborn, immovable, non-material, quiescent and non-dual" (IV, 45). Hence it is thought that for *Vijñāna* itself there exists the state of movement and the state of rest (IV, 48). And the main objective of the fourth chapter is to teach that the calm state of final release results from the cessation of the movement of *Vijñāna*. This is the reason why this chapter is entitled "the cessation of the fire-brand (*alāta-sānti*)".

It is a unique fact in the history of the *Vedānta* philosophy that the author regarded such *Vijñāna* as the Absolute. In the *Vedānta* school in general *Brahman* or *Ātman* is looked upon as the ultimate principle; yet these are not discussed at all in the fourth chapter. On the point that it regards *Vijñāna* as the ultimate principle, it is, rather, closer to the



theory of the *Purāṇas*.<sup>37</sup> referred to in Śāntirakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* or that in some of the *Purāṇas*.<sup>38</sup> It is needless to say that such a theory came into existence under the influence of the *Vijñānavāda*. Yet, the point that the movement [*spand*] or *Vijñāna* is stressed reminds us of the cosmological theory of the Śaiva sect of Kashmir (the *Pratyabhijñā* theory).

Immediately after the discussion of false appearance due to the movement of *Vijñāna*, we find the theory that things experienced in the waking state and those experienced in the dreaming state are both false appearances of the Mind (*Citta*) through *Māyā* (IV. 61-66). This argument is entirely the same as that in the third chapter, which states that all phenomena are false appearances of the *Manas* through *Māyā*. Here, however, *Manas* is replaced by *citta*. (The replacement of *Manas* with *citta* probably occurred through the influence of the mind-only theory of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. In India it is generally accepted that the placement of *citta* as the ultimate principle is a uniquely Buddhistic theory).<sup>39</sup> This argument at first glance appears to contradict the above-presented theory which sees *citta* and things as equal (IV, 54). But here the argument borrowed from the third chapter are probably used to impress upon the reader the fact that all phenomena arise through *citta*. Therefore, the *citta* discussed here has approximately the same meaning as the above-cited *Vijñāna*. In other places *citta* is held to be the ultimate principle.

“The duality which consists of the subject and the object is nothing but the vibration of the *Citta*. *Citta* has no object. It is, therefore, said that (*Citta*) is eternal and free from attachment” (IV, 72].

Thus *Citta*, which is the substratum of the subject and the object, cannot be merely the subject of cognition. In the *Vijñānavāda* philosophy, also, *Citta* is occasionally used as a synonym of *Vijñāna* and a *sūtra* passage which states that “the three-fold world is nothing but the Mind”<sup>40</sup> is sometimes considered to be a scriptural testimony of the *Vijñānavāda*. It is, therefore, not at all strange that the two terms are thought to be synonymous in the fourth chapter, which has the *Vijñānavāda* doctrine as its nucleus.

What then is the principle which causes movement in *Vijñāna* or *Citta*? It is called *Māyā*, (IV, 61), false attachment (*abhūtābhiniveśa*, IV, 79), or covering (*saṃvṛti*, IV, 57). In the orthodox Brahmanical tradition “*Māyā*” has been considered to be the mystical power of the god from an ancient time. In the second and third chapters of these *Kārikās* it is held to be the efficient cause of the evolution of the world. The concepts, “false attachment” and “covering” (practical truth) are taken from Buddhism. These correspond to the idea of “nescience”



(*avidyā*) in Śāṅkara's philosophy. "Covering" is an idea which stands in opposition to that of the "absolute truth" (*sadbhāva*). The birth, death and change in the phenomenal world which falsely appear through the covering of truth must be negated from the stand point of the absolute truth (IV, 57). We clearly see here that in particular, the Buddhist, idea of the twofold truth as found in Mahāyāna Buddhism is absorbed in the philosophy of the fourth chapter.

It is said that there is the twofold covering : "covering due to false construction" (*kalpitasamvṛti*) and "covering dependent upon "another" (*paratantrābhisamvṛti*) (IV, 73). It is not clear how the former differs from the latter. However, *Kārikā* IV, 74, indicates that the former is the principle which causes knowledge different from the truth whereas the latter is the principle which establishes the things in the phenomenal world, making possible the daily lives of human beings. Both stand in opposition to the highest truth [*paramārtha*]. Therefore, the things which exist through either of the two kinds of coverings are unreal from the standpoint of the highest truth. It is needless to say that this view is influenced by the *Vijñānavāda* theory of three fold nature (*trisvabhāva*).

Roughly speaking, we may show it as follows :

|                                                         |                                     |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Covering due to false construction...False construction | Pratical<br>truth                   |
| Covering dependent upon another...Dependent origination |                                     |
| Absolute truth.....                                     | The highest truth.....Highest truth |

It may be considered that these three correspond to the three truths (*satya*) or three kinds of existences (*sattva*) recognized by the later *Advaita* school.<sup>41</sup> The three are shown as follows :

- [I] The truth as false appearance (*prātibhāsika-satya*)  
 .. ...The existence which has *avidyā* as its limiting adjunct  
 (*avidyopādhikasattva*).

For example, the idea derived from mistaking mother of pearl for silver. Since it contradicts the valid knowledge, it must be denied even in the sphere of daily life.

- [II] Practical truth (*vyāvahārika-satya*)  
 .. ...The existence which has *māyā* as its limiting adjunct  
 (*māyopādhikasattva*).



For example, the things in the natural world such as space. They have practical efficiency (*arthakriyā*) and it is accepted that they are true in daily life. However, from the standpoint of highest truth, they are false and must be negated.

[III] The highest truth (*pāramārthika-satya*).

.....The existence in the highest truth (*paramārthasattva*).

Only Brahman can be called thus.

[A] Seen from the viewpoint of time, truth [I] is momentary truth [II] exists as long as there exists the perceiving subject, and truth [III] is eternal. [B] If we see truth [I] from the standpoint of truth [II] the object is false whereas the subject is true, and if we see truth [II] from the standpoint of [III] both the subject and the object in truth [II] are false. [C] Truth [III] does not have any limiting adjunct but truths [I] and [II] do. The later *Advaita Vedānta* school generally holds this view.

The above-mentioned threefold truth corresponds to the above threefold standpoint found in the fourth chapter of *Māṇḍūkyakārikā*. ("Samvṛti" may be considered to be equivalent to the "upādhi".) Therefore, it is likely that the theory of threefold nature in the *Vijñānavāda* philosophy was thus adopted by the *Māṇḍūkyakārikā* and later the same idea was expressed in different technical terms, giving rise to the above-mentioned theory of threefold truth with some alterations in the *Advaita Vedānta* school of later period.

How, our transmigratory existence is due to this covering. Since we are attached to the differentiated appearances of the phenomenal world without knowing the truth, we cannot obtain "peace of mind" (*vaiśāradya*, IV, 94). Hence, in order to achieve final release, the covering must be eliminated. It is said that if we once realize the truth, transmigration also ceases to exist since the covering is ignorance of the truth.

"As long as there is a strong attachment to cause the effect, transmigration persists. But when that strong attachment to cause and effect is destroyed, transmigration is no longer possible" (IV, 56. cf. IV, 55).

In other words, by realizing non-origination, one "does not fall into an inverted view" (IV, 46) and "enters into the non-origination of cause and effect" (IV, 54). To realize non-origination is to become non-originated. One who realises non-origination is no longer born (na *jāyate*; IV, 75 ; 76). And the state of final release achieved in this manner is in direct opposition to the differentiated appearances



of the phenomenal world. It is non-originated, equal, non-dual, non-separated, quiescent, pure, un-injured (IV, 77 ; 93 ; 98). It can be expressed only negatively or statically.

According to the author of the fourth chapter, the differentiated appearances of birth and death in the phenomenal world are all false and untrue but they play their own roles as the true in this world, for human beings mistakenly regard them as true. It is however, known to one who has realized the theories of non-origination and Consciousness only that all differences and origination are false. Therefore, even if they occur to him in the same manner as to the ordinary people, they do not have any *raison d'être*, that is, they have perished. In other words, it is considered that the awakened one is in the state of non-origination.

Therefore, final release and transmigration falsely appear owing to the difference between knowledge and ignorance of the truth. The ordinary people and the scholars think that, though transmigration is beginningless, final release from it can be obtained through religious practices and that the highest pleasure of final release continues eternally. However, these two states are not independent (IV, 30). Transmigration is ultimately empty from the standpoint of the highest truth and not different from final release.<sup>41</sup> There is no inverted view from the standpoint of the highest truth (IV, 27). For this reason transmigration can be transformed into final release. In the fourth chapter the possibility of final release is grounded on the theory of undifferentiated Consciousness-only.

It is particularly noteworthy that the author of the fourth chapter quotes many passages from Mahāyāna Buddhist scripture and that he lays stress on the point that all things (*sarve dharmāḥ*) are by nature enlightened, released, and quiescent (IV, 92; 93; 94; 98)<sup>43</sup>. According to the Buddhist philosophy, that which the ordinary people and philosophers regard as *ātman* is in actuality merely a composite of many elements of existence [*dharma*]. Mahāyāna Buddhism emphasizes in particular that right because these elements of existence are by nature pure, final release is possible. In the fourth chapter, these ideas are directly adopted. Therefore, the fourth chapter accepts the non-self theory and abandons the traditional *ātman* theory of the orthodox *Vedānta* school.<sup>44</sup> The fourth chapter does not refer to *Brahman* or *Ātman* at all. Here, non-self, emptiness and the non-differentiated Consciousness-only constitute the basic doctrines.



## FOOTNOTES

1. The *argumentum ad absurdum* : “a child would give birth to its father” [GK. IV, 15] was originally set forth by the Mādhyamikas; *Vigrahavyāvartanā* V. 50 ; its Chinese version, V. 28 : Taisho Tripitaka, Vol. XXXII, p. 20 bc. Cf. *Vigrahavyāvartanā* V. 51 *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, IX, 114. Refutation against it is forth in *Nyāyasūtra*, II, 1, 41. [Cf. *ibid.* IV, 1, 39].
2. The argument in the *Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā* IV, 17 should be compared to that in the Mādhyamika Kārikā X; 10 and 11, also *Prasannapadā* on them.

The argument in the *Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā* IV, 18 should be compared to the *Mādhyamika-Kārikā* X, 8 which runs as follows ;

yadīndhanam apekṣyāgnir apekṣyāgnim yadīndhanam/  
katarat pūrvaniṣpannam yadapekṣyāgnir indhanam//

“The absolute ignorance of cause and effect” [Pūrvāparāparijñāna] [Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā IV, 21] is also discussed in *Nyāya-sūtra* II, 1 8—11, *Mādhyamika-Kārikā* XI, 2-6.

3. bījāṅkurākhyo dṛṣṭāntaḥ sadā sādhyasamohi naḥ/  
na ca sādhyasamohetuḥ siddhau sādhyasya yuḥyate//

(*Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā* IV, 20]

Those who criticized the theory based upon the simile of bījāṅkura are referred to in Bhāskara [ad Brahmasūtra II, 1, 36]. The explanation resorting to this simile, which was originally set forth by some Buddhists, was refuted by the Mādhyamikas [*Mādhyamika-Kārikā* XVII, 7-10; *Catuhśataka* X, 24, rendered version; *Lalitavistara* p. 210, 11.4-5, cited in *Prasannapadā*, ad II, 25; XXI, 21].

This simile is often mentioned by the Mādhyamikas. Ankuro jāyate bījād bījaṃ tenaiva sūcyate [*Bodhicaryāvatāra*, IX, 115]. bījāṅkuravat [*Mādhyamika-vṛtti*, 458, 1.13; p. 252, 1.11 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 423, 1.10; āṅkurādisantāna [*ibid.* p. 313, 1.3]; Śālistamba-sūtra; *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, pp. 575 f.] It was adopted by the Vedāntins also. Cf. G. Jacob : *Laukika-nyāyāñjali* vol. I, s.v. bījāṅkura-nyāya.

4. hetur na jāyate' nādeḥ phalaṃ vāpi svabhāvataḥ/  
ādir na vidyate yasya taśya hy ādir na vidyate// [IV, 23]



Cf. hetor ādir na ced āsti phalasyādiḥ kuto bhavet/

[*Bodhicaryāvatāra*. IX, 123].

Śvato vā parato vāpi na kiñcid vastu jāyate/  
sad asat sadasad vāpi na kiñcid vastu jāyate//

[*Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā*, IV, 22]

This argumentation must have been adopted from the Mādhyamika school. Concerning the first half of the stanza, cf.

na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyāṃnāpy ahetutaḥ/  
utpannā jātu vidyante bhāvāḥ kvacana kecana//

[*Mādhyamika-Kārikā*, I, 1]

na svato jāyate bhāvāḥ parato naiva jāyate/  
na svataḥ parataś caiva jāyate kutaḥ//

[ibid. XXI, 13]

na svato jāyate bhāvāḥ parato naiva jāyate/  
na svataḥ parataś ceti viparyayaḥ kutaḥ//

[ibid. XXIII, 20]

Concerning the latter half of the stanza, cf.

sataś ca tāvad utpattir asataś ca na yujyate/  
na sataś cāsataś ceti pūrvam evopapāditam// [ibid. VII, 20]  
na san nāsan na sadasan dharmo nirvartate/ [ibid. I, 7]

The same argumentation is mentioned in the *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra* [Taisho Tripiṭaka, vol. XXX, p. 160 b] ; the *Śata śāstra* [ibid. vol. XXX, p. 178 a-c].

asan na jāyate loka na san na sadasan kvacit/

[*Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, III, 21]

5. See my notes to the *śloka*s in the above chapter.

6. nāsty asaddhetukam asat sad asaddhetukam tathā/  
sac ca saddhetukam nāsti saddhetukam asat kutaḥ//

[*Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā*, IV, 40]

Cf. na bhāvāj jāyate bhāvo, 'bhāvo bhāvān na jāyate/  
nābhāvāj jāyate 'bhāvo bhāvān na jāyate//

[*Mādhyamika-Kārikā*, XXI, 12]

Moreover, ibid. I, 1;6;7; VIII, 1;8;10.



7. Cf. *Kārikā* IV, 3; 4.
8. See my notes to these two *śloka*s.
9. sadbhāvena [or svabhāvena] hy ajamsarvam. [*Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā*, IV, 57] aja or anutpatti of all things is emphasized throughout all Mahāyāna literature.
10. dharmā ya iti jāyante jāyante te na tattvataḥ/  
janma māyopamaṃ teṣāṃ sā ca māyā na vidyate//  
(*Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā*, IV, 58)

Cf. māyādayaḥ svabhāvenānutpannā avidyamānāḥ. (*Mādhyamaka*, *vṛtti*, p. 177, 1.6).

11. Cf. *Kārikā* IV, 60.
12. yathā māyāmayo jīvo jāyate mriyate ca /  
tathā jīvā ami sarve bhavanti na bhavanti ca / /  
(*Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā*, IV, 69]

Cf. sudurbodhāsi māyaiva dṛśyate na ca dṛśyate /

[*Rāhulabhadra's Prajñāpāramitā-stava*, v. 16.H.Vi : *Indo Tetsugaku Kenkyu*, vol. I, p. 347].

na niruddhā na cotpannā yathā māyāmayāḥ kvait /  
na niruddhā na cotpannā sarvasattvās tathā tvayi / /

[*Rāhulabhadra's Saddharmapuṇḍarīkastava*, in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* ed. by Wogihara, preface, p. 39].

yathā nirmītakō jīvo jāyate mriyate 'pi ca /  
tathā jīvā ami sarve bhavanti na bhavanti ca //  
(*Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā*, IV, 70]

Cf. yathā nirmītakam śāstā nirmīmitardhisampadā /  
nirmīto nirmīmitānyam sa ca nirmītakāḥ / /

tathā nirmītakāraḥ kartā yat karma tat kṛtam /  
tad yathā nirmītanānyo nirmītas tathā / /

[*Mādhyamaka-Kārikā*, XVII, 31; 32]

The term *nirmītika* is a term peculiar to Buddhism. [cf.s.v, nirmī-taka in O. Bohtlingk and R. Roth's *Sanskrit-Woerterbuch nebst*



allen Nachtraegen (St. Petersburg, 1855-75 and O. Bohtlingk's Sanskrit-Woerterbuch in Kurzerer Fassung, (St. Petersburg, 1879-89.

13. *saṃvṛtyā jāyate sarvaṃśāśvatam tena nāsti vai /  
sadbhāvena hy ajam sarvaṃ ucchedas tena nāsti vai //*

(Māṇḍūkya-kārikā, IV, 57)

*saṃvṛti*=*saṃvaraṇa*, *avidyāviṣayo laukiko vyavahārah*. (Śaṅkara ad I. c.) In Buddhist literature it is a term contrary to *tattva* (Cf. *Mādhyaṃaka-vṛtti*. 54,1.10). *Samvṛtisatya* is a concept contrary to *paramārthasatya*. *saṃvṛti* etymologically derived from the meaning : "to cover (truth)".

It is supposed that the term *sadbhāva* does not necessarily mean "existence" or "the existent", but synonymous with *bhūta* (*Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā* IV, 25), Cf. *sadbhūta*, Vyāsa ad *Yogasūtra* I, 35. *Sadbhāvena* is likely to be synonymous with *tattvataḥ* (IV, 58) in contrast to *saṃvṛtyā*. Here we can locate an influence of the Buddhist concept of *satya-dvaya*.

The teaching that all things are non-eternal and non-annihilated is peculiar to Buddhism. It is found throughout all Mahāyāna literature. E.g. *Mādhyaṃaka-Kārikā*, Salutation stanza; XIV, i;3; XV, 10;11; XVII, 7;8;10;20;22; XVIII, 10;11; XXI, 14;15; 16; 17; XXII, 12; XXV, 3; 21; 23; XXVII, 1; 12; 16; 17; 18; 20; 29. *Laṅkavatāra-sūtra* V, 1, p. 219; X,2).

However, here in this verse (IV, 57) of the *Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā* it is taught that in the practical truth there is nothing eternal; on the other hand there is no annihilation in the ultimate truth'. Therefore the Buddhist theory of *satya-dvaya* has been adopted in a highly twisted form. (However, the theory in IV, 59 is different from this.)

14. IV, 59 was discussed in the above.

15. *nājeṣu sarvadharmeṣu śāśvatāśaśvatābhidhā /  
yatra varṇā na vartante vivekas tatra nocyate //*

(Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā, IV, 60)

*varṇa* means *śabda* (aŚaṅkara). *viveka* is explained by Śaṅkara as : *idam evam iti viveko viviktatā*. Throughout Indian philosophy in general *viveka* means the knowledge which leads us to salvation, as is explained here by Śaṅkara. This meaning has been preserved till later days (e.g. *Vedāntasāra*, 15). However, in this stanza *viveka* is rejected, which must be a Buddhist influence.



Cf. nivṛttam abhīdhātavyaṃ nivṛtte citta-gocare /  
(*Mādhyaṃaka-Kārikā*, XVIII, 7)

tattvaṃ hy akṣaravarjitaṃ. (*Lañkāvatāra*, p. 48, v. 119)

avāca anakṣarāḥ sarva śūnyāḥ śāntādinirmalāḥ /  
(*Mādhyaṃaka-vṛtti*, p. 539. cf. p. 493)

Concerning *śāśvata* and *aśāśvata*, cf.

yasmāt pravartate bhāvas tenocchedo na jāyate /  
yasmān nivartate bhāvas tena nityo na jāyate / /  
(*Catuḥśataka* = *Mādhyaṃaka-vṛtti*, p. 376 cf.  
*Mādhyaṃaka-Kārikā*, XV, 10; 11).

Although Śāṅkara cites *Tait. Up.* II, 4, 1 and II, 9, 1 to explain this verse, it is quite clear that this verse is influenced by Buddhist expressions and ideas.

16. See my notes to these *śloka*s in the above.
17. The assertion that the experiences in the waking state and those in the dreaming state are not different is seemingly expressed in *Bṛhad. Up.* IV, 3, 14 in its incipient state, but it was especially set forth by the Vijñānavādins. E.g. na hy atītānāgatāvartamānānubhave suptasya jāgrataś ca kaścīd viśeṣo 'sti. (*MAVT*, p. 26, 1.14) Later such opinion was expressed by Advaitins and grammarians who were placed under such an influence (cf. *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, ed. Abhyankar, XIII, 11.269-270). The *Nyāyasūtras* IV, 2, 31 f. refutes such an opinion.
18. *avastuka* is a peculiarly Buddhist term. E.g. avastukāḥ sarvadharmāḥ (*Mahāvīyutpatti*, X, 10). avastuka eva bālānāṃ parpañcaḥ (*Mādhyaṃaka-vṛtti*, p. 224, 1.11). grāhyaṃ grāho grahitā ca nāsti, nāma hy avastukam. (*Lañkāvatāra*, p. 299, 1.12. avastukamcittam. ibid. p. 335, 1.6). avastukatā (*Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka*, p. 925, 1.18); avastukatva (*Bodhicaryāvatāra*, ed. by Poussin, p. 333, 1.22); avastu (*Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā*, IV, 87' 88); avastukatva (ibid. IV, 45).
19. nāsty asaddhetukam asat sad asaddhetukaṃ tathā /  
sac ca saddhetukaṃ nāsti saddhetukam asat kutaḥ / /  
(*Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* IV, 40)

The purport of this verse is the same as the following :

na bhāvāḥ jāyate bhāvo, bhāvo 'bhāvān na jāyate/  
nābhāvāḥ jāyate 'bhāvo bhāvān na jāyate //  
(*Mādhyaṃaka-kārikā*, XXI, 12)



Cf. *Mādhyamaka-kārikā*, I, 1;6;7; VIII, 1;8;10.

20. The simile of *māyā* is already mentioned in scriptures of early Buddhism (*Therīgāthā* 394; the Chinese version of the *Samyuktā-gama-sūtra*, vol. X, Taisho Tripiṭaka, vol. II, p. 69 a; No. 265). In Wisdom Sūtras it often mentioned, e.g. *sarvadharmā* api..... *māyopamāḥ* *svapnopamāḥ* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, ed. by Wogihara, p. 159). In some Mahāyāna Sūtras it is said that *māyā* is the essence of all things (*māyālakṣaṇa-svabhāva*, *Śālistamba-sūtra*, cited in *Mādhyamaka-vṛtti*, p.567,1.6;p.568,1.15)

yat tu dr̥ṣṭipathaprāptam tan māyaiva sutucchakam /

(Poussin, *JRAS.* 1908,p.889.)

yaś ca dharmān vijānāti māyā-svapna-svabhāvakān /

kadalīskandhaniḥsārān pratiśrutkā-samānakān //

*Sadharmapuṇḍarīka*, ed. by Wogihara and Tsuchida, p. 130,11,15-16)

It is said that the simile of *māyā* is adopted to make clear the theory of 'neither existence, nor non-existence' of all things (*Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, p. 266,11.17 ff.). Those things which were created by *māyā* do not exist, but can be perceived (na samvidyata upalabhyate ca,

*Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā*, ed. by Yamaguchi, p. 230,11.11-13). The *Māṇḍūkya-kārikās* adopted such ideas.

The simile of *māyāhastin* is often mentioned in Mahāyāna scriptures (*Laṅkāvatāra*, X,v.126; *Trisvabhāva-nirdeśa* 27). Moreover, *māyāpuruṣa* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, p.63;*Mādhyamaka-kārikā*,XXIII,9 *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā*, p. 113,1.4); *māyāturaga* (*Mādhyamaka-vṛtti*, p.237,1.6), *māyārājā* (*Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*, XI,29). All actions of man can be compared to those of a man created by a magician (*māyākāra*), being attached to a woman who was also created by the magician (*Mādhyamaka-vṛtti*, p.46,1.2;p.463,1.10; *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, IX,31; cf. *māyāyuvati*, *Mādhyamaka-vṛtti*, p.45,1.9; *māyākāra-nirmita* strī, *ibid.* p.463,1.11).

The simile of dreams and *māyā* is refuted in the first chapter (1,7) of the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikās*, whereas it is adopted in the second and sequent chapters of this work. In this respect we can find the difference of the philosophical standpoints of both sections of this work. Śāṅkara ascribes this simile to the *vijñānavādins* of Buddhism in his (*Brahmasutrabhāṣyā*, II,2,28. AnSS. vol. I,p. 580, 11.8-12).



Or it is said that this simile is held by the *pracchanna-Bauddhas*, *māyins* (*Śrinivāṣīya*, p. 12; mentioned in T.M.P. Mahadevan's *Gauḍa-pāda*, p. 41, n.) Such a theory is obviously refuted by *śāṅkara* (ad *Brahmasūtra* II, 2,29;) and by *Bhartṛhari* (*Vākyapadīya*, II, 297]. Such a refutation is introduced into works of Buddhist *viññānavādins* as was set forth by opponents (e.g. *Viṃśatikā*, p. 1,1.17-p. 2,1.6) Although the simile of *māyā* and *māyin* is mentioned in the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad* IV, 9-10, it was generally regarded by Indian intellectuals as was advocated by Buddhists, especially *viññānavādins*. Therefore we have to conclude that the simile of dreams of *māyā* in the second and fourth chapters must have been introduced from Buddhism, especially the *viññānavāda*.

21. Opponents to the *Mādhyamikas* set forth arguments to the same effect.....*atrāha* vidyanta eva skandhyatanadhātavaḥ / kutaḥ / tad aśrayasaṃkleśopalabdhē // iha yan nāsti na tadāśrayasaṃkleśopalabdhir asti vandhyāduhitur iva vandhyāsūnoḥ / santi ca rāgādayaḥ klesāḥ saṃkleśanibandhanam / (*Mādhyamaka-vṛtti*. p. 137)
22. *nimittasyānimittatvam iṣyate bhūtadaśanāt // Māṇḍukya-kārikā* IV, 25, cd] In this sentence *viññānavāda* is clearly set forth as is explained by *Ānandajñāna*.

*bhūtadarśana*, which means *paramārthadarśana* according to *śāṅkara*, is a peculiarly Buddhist term. It means 'to see reality'. It is the same as *lokottaraprajñā* (*Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā*, p. 29,1.8). 'bhūtadarśin' is explained as 'one who sees reality' ('Buddha-nature Treatise'; MAVT, p. 29,1.8). *draṣṭavyam bhūtato bhūtam bhūtadarśi vimucyate* / *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, V,21. p. 885

*draṣṭavyam bhūtato bhūtam*. (*Saundarānanda*, XIII, 51, p. 94) *bhūta* does not mean 'existence', but 'reality', 'truth'. Cf. *bhūtanaya yathābhūta*, *bhūtakoti*.

23. *arthābhāsa* is a technical term of *viññānavādins*. *vāsanair luḍitam cittam arthābhāsam pravartate* (*Laṅkāvatāra*, p. 285, 1.5) cf. *ibid.* 283, 1.16; 284, 1.4; 336.) *svabījaparipākād arthābhāsam viññānam utpadyate* (MAVT, p. 11,1.22, cf. *ibid.* p. 26,1.17) *śāṅkara* comments.....*cittam eva hi ghaṭādyarthavad avabhāstate yathā svapne*. It is quite clear that the thought of Buddhist Idealsim is expressed here in this stanza.
24. It is likely that in verse IV, 27 a certain kind of realism, such as that of the *Sarvāstivādins*, is criticized. The argumentation to the same effect is set forth in *Mādhyamaka-kārikā*, XXIII, 8;9; *Lankāvatāra*, X, 123.



adhvan. The use of the term *adhvan* in this sense is peculiarly Buddhist. Cf. Bohtlingk's and Roth's *Woerterbuch*, and Schmidt's s.v. *adhvan* in

*Nachtraege*. The term *adhvan* in *Yogasūtra* IV, 12, seem to be a borrowing from Buddhism.

25. The same argumentation as in vv. IV, 63-66 is set forth by Śaṅkara as the theory of vijñānavādins. (ad *Bṛhad Up.* p. 571, 11. 6-9.) In the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra* a similar notion is expressed. Such terms as *citta-dṛśya*, *cittamātra* are used often in Mahāyāna literature (cf. Index to *Laṅkāvatāra*).
26. *anyonyadṛśya* = *parasparāpekṣasiddhika* = *anyonyāśraya* = *itaretara-grāhya* (Ānandajñāna). Śaṅkara also explains it in a similar way, Such a thought is expressed in Mahāyanā literature, *atha yad evāmbanam tad eva cittam / yadi tāvad anyad āmbanam anyac cittam tad dvicittatā bhaviṣyati / (Āryaratnacūḍaparipṛcchā*, cited in *Mādhyamaka-vṛtti*, p. 62)
27. *lakṣaṇaśūnya*. Cf. *alakṣaṇa*, Māṇḍ. Up. 7; *lakṣyalakṣaṇavarjita*, *Laṅkāvatāra*, p. 190, III, v. 79; p. 294, X, 224. cf. *ibid.* X, 21; *Mādhyamaka-kārikā*, V, 5.
28. This represents the ultimate standpoint of the perfect vijñānavāda, as is represented in the *Mahāyāna-samparigraha* etc.  
  
tac cārthābhāvajñānam tad eva vijñaptimātraññānam nivartayati, arthābhāve vijñapti-asambhavād. (MAVT. p. 247, 11. 18-20).  
  
“Apart from *vijñāna*, there is no *traidhātuka*. Apart from *traidhātuka*, there is no *vijñāna*. “*Hsien-shih-lun*,. H. Ui : *Indo Tetsugaku*, *Kenkyu*, vol. VI, p. 369)
29. Non-origination of Mind is set forth in Mahāyanā. E. g. *cittam hi Kāśyapa parigaveṣyamānam na labhyate. yan na labhyate tan nopalabhyate tan nātītam, nānāgatam, na pratyutpannam. yan nātītam nānāgatam na pratyutpannam tat tryadhvasamatikrāntam. Yat tryadhvasamatikrāntam tan naivāsti naiva nāsti svabhāvaḥ. yasya nāsti svabhāvaḥ tasya nāsti utpādaḥ. yasya nāsty utpādaḥ tasya nāsti nirodhaḥ. (Kāśyapa-parivarta*, 102...*Mādhyamaka-vṛtti*, p. 45. cf. *ibid.* p. 62, 1.4 f.)
30. The simile of the footprints of birds is often mentioned in Buddhist literature. *Dhammapada* 93 ; *Therag.* 92 ; *Āryaratnākara-sutra* in *Mādhyamaka-vṛtti*, p. 90 ; *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, *sattvaparikṣā* etc.



31. See my notes to these ślokas in the previous chapter, Prof. H. Ui pointed out that the views of the *Kārikā* agree in certain aspects with the theories in Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasamparigrahaśāstra* (H. Ui, *Yuishin-no-Jissen*. pp. 146-153).
32. Cf. the present work Vol. III, pp. 44 ff. chapter V, 3,3 in Japanese.
33. Vidyate na hi nānātvam teṣāṃ kecana / [*Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā*, IV, 91]

There is a parallel passage :—

notpannā jātu vidyante bhāvāḥ kvacana kecana /  
(*Mādhyamaka-Kārikā*, I, I)

34. *grāhya* and *grāhaka* are the terms which are used often in the literature of vijñānavāda.
35. ābhāsa in the meaning of 'appearance' or 'manifestation' is a technical term of vijñānavāda (Cf. Index to *Laṅkāvatāra* ; index to *MAVT* ; Śaṅkara as *BS*. II, 2, 28).
36. The simile of the fire-brand (alātā)-cakra is resorted to in Mahāyāna literature to teach the theory of niḥsvabhāvatā and śūnyatā of all things.  
  
Catuḥśatikā, XIII, 800. p. 503. *Mādhyamaka-vṛtti*, p. 173, 1.2 ; p. 219, 11.7-8 ; *Laṅkāvatāra*, p. 92, 1.9 ; *Satyasiddhi*, vol. X, (Taisho Tripitaka, vol. XXXII, p. 316 b) *Mahāvīryūtpatti*, 139, 21.
37. Cf. *tattvasaṃgraha*, aupaniṣadātmaparīkṣā,
38. See, for example, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* II, 12, 42 (Wilson, *Collected Works*, Vol. VII, 310).
39. *duḥkhasvābhāvikatvavādidbhir Bauddhais cittaśyaivātmatābhyupagamāc ca, Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya*, p. 10, line 12. Buddhist scholars of later period admit that the nature of this *Citta* can be nothing but what is called *Brahman* in the orthodox Brahmanical tradition (*ekaikasya cīttasya brahmatādikam, Bodhicaryāvatāra*, V, 15).
40. cittamātram idaṃ yad idaṃ traidhātukam. (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra*. ed. by Kondo, p. 98)

cittamātram bho jinaputra yad uta traidhātukam  
(*Śuklavidarśanabhūmi*, Poussin, JRAS. 1908, p. 889)



41. *Sarvadarśanasamgrah*, XVI, lines 656-670.
42. See also *Kārikā* II, 32.
43. This is probably the meaning of IV, 1 and IV, 91 where all things are compared to space.
44. If *ātman* is admitted, the following assertion is rendered meaningless : "Since all things are by nature pure, the individuals are also by nature released."



## VIDYĀNĀTHA AND AGASTYA OF KṚṢṆACARITA

The author of the *Kṛṣṇacarita*, the *Gadyakāvya*

T. Venkatāchārya  
University of Toronto

From the colophon at the end of the work which reads *ity agastyasya kṛtiḥ kṛṣṇacaritam samāptam* and from the two verses occurring thereafter in the Grantha Manuscript (*śravaśśūla* etc. and *anādṛtyā* etc.) it is clear that the name of the author is Agastya without any doubt. In the second verse the author refers to himself as *agastyasya viduṣaḥ*. etc. This may mean that the author was known as *Agastyavidvān* or the learned Agastya, that is *Agastyapaṇḍita*. Sālva-Timmayadaṇḍanātha the author of the commentary *Manoharā* on the *Bālābhārata* mentions in the beginning as *tatra bhavan agastyapaṇḍito nāma mahākaviḥ*, who is probably the same *Agastyapaṇḍita* as our author.

Gaṅgādevī, the Queen of Vīrakamparāya, in her *Madhurāvijaya* pays glowing tributes to one *Agastyapaṇḍita*, thus,

*catussaptatikāvyoktivyaktavaiduṣyasampade,*  
*agastyāya jagaty asmin sprhayet ko na kovidaḥ.* (I. 14)

On the basis of this verse it is supposed that Agastya wrote 74 *kāvya*-s in all, which spoke volumes for the wealth of his *vaiduṣya*. Agastya was a maternal uncle of Viśvanātha who mentions the fact in his *Saugandhikāharaṇa*<sup>1</sup>. Viśvanātha was one of the teachers of Gaṅgādevī, who is also praised by her in the *Madhurāvijaya*<sup>2</sup>. Vīrakamparāya (or Kampana) is said to have ruled the southern part of the Vijayanagar Empire as Viceroy from the beginning of his father Bukka I's reign (i.e. 1357 A.D.) Kampana is also said to have died in 1374 A.D..<sup>3</sup> Gaṅgādevī, it is believed, had accompanied her husband Kampana in his campaigns against the Madura Sultan, which the history places between 1365-1370 A.D..<sup>4</sup> *Agastyapaṇḍita*, our author, the uncle of Viśvanātha, seems to have been one of the great Poets that adorned, like Vidyānātha, the Court of Pratāparudra II, the Kākatīya ruler of Warrangal (of 1292-1323 A.D.).



Some scholars held the view that Agastya and Vidyānātha were identical, the latter expression being the title of the author, whose original name was Agastya. This identity is surmised on the basis of the verse in the *Pratāparudrīya*, running as *aunnatyam yadi varṇyate* etc. (II. 60), which is an illustrative verse of the *agūdhavyaṅgya* variety of the *dhvani*. In this verse, the expression *jāto'smyagastyah* referring to the author, is taken to mean that the real name of the author was Agastya<sup>5</sup>. This argument of identity was not accepted by all, and it was refuted in a brief communication that appeared in the Journal of the Mythic Society (Vol. XI. 3, P. 286) in the year 1921. Subsequently to this no further evidence seems to have been adduced either for identity or for difference between Agastya and Vidyānātha. Some scholars echoed the view of identity and some others asserted the difference between the two and in this context simply referred the readers to the refutation<sup>6</sup> which appeared in the year 1921.

While preparing the material for an edition of the *Kṛṣṇacarita* now presented in the following pages I was paying attention carefully to see whether I could come across any points, textual or other type, that would support either the identity or the difference between Agastya and Vidyānātha. Though I did not find any specific statement dealing directly with the issues, I feel that the two are different and not identical. I should like to state below the reasons for my opinion.

I. Coming to the basis of the surmise for identity, the expression *jāto'smy agastyah sthitaḥ*, as already noted in the brief communication refuting the identity referred to above, need not necessarily mean that his real name was Agastya. The author may be taken, in this expression, simply to compare himself with the sage Agastya of the mythology, and thereby to suggest that he was not afraid of either the mountains or the oceans, as the sage Agastya was well-known in the mythology for his great powers of drinking away the waters of oceans and of subduing the height and pride of the Vindhya Mountain.

The author of the commentary *Ratnaśāna* on the *Pratāparudrīya* (B.S.S. 1909), while explaining the verse *aunnatyam yadi varṇyate* etc., interprets the expression *jāto'smy agastyah sthitaḥ* thus : *agastyo jātaḥ kumbhasambhavo bhavan tvatpārśve sthito'smi* etc. (P. 532). In the light of this interpretation it is clear that the author of the *Ratnaśāna* too understands Vidyānātha here merely to be comparing himself with the mythological sage Agastya. It Agastya was the original name of the author, and Vidyānātha a subsequent title the author of the *Ratnaśāna* as well as Kumārasvāmin would have noted in this context thus : *agastya iti 'hi samskārikam asya kaveḥ nāma ; Vidyānātha iti tu birudam (or upādhiḥ) pāścātkālikam rājñā dattaṃ iti prasiddhiḥ* (Kumārasvāmin was



not far away from the period of Vidyānātha, and he would have noted it to be a title if it was so).

II. At the beginning of the *Ratnāpaṇa*, Kumārasvāmin's introductory remarks read simply as *Vidyānāthanāmā mahākaviḥ*. The author of the *Ratnāśāṇa* too refers to the work only as *Vidyānāthakṛtiḥ* (and not as *agastyakṛtiḥ*).

III. In the *Pratāparudrīya* itself the work is referred to as *Vidyānāthakṛtiḥ* (See verse I. 10).

IV. The colophon at the end of all chapters of the *Pratāparudrīya* mentions only as *Vidyānāthakṛti*.

V. Appayyadikṣita in his *Citramīmāṃsa* (N.S.P. edn. 1893, see pages 7, 57, 58, 84 & 87), Jagannātha in his *Rasagaṅgādhara* (N.S.P. edn. 1894, page 162) and Nāgeśa in his *Marmaparakāśa* (ibid. p. 255)-all these writers while quoting, or referring to, some definitions of the *Pratāparudrīya* mention the name of the author only as Vidyānātha (and never as Agastya). No writer is known to have used the word Agastya in the context of a reference to the *Pratāparudrīya*.

VI. In the sample drama, the work *Pratāparudrakalyāṇa* too is referred to as *Vidyānāthakṛti* (see *prastāvanā*, verse 10).

VII. The colophon at the end of the *Kṛṣṇacarita* reads clearly as *ity agastyasya kṛtiḥ*, and the colophons at the end of the *sargas* of the *Bālābhārata* read only as *agastyapaṇḍitakṛti* (and not as *Vidyāntchakṛti* or as *Vidyānāthapadabhūṣitāgastyakṛti*).

VIII. In the Grantha Manuscript after the colophon at the end of the *Kṛṣṇacarita* the following two verses are found :

śravaśśulasthūlamkaraṇabhaṇitigranthanipuṇaiḥ  
kaviṃmanyair anyaiḥ kim iha bahu romanthaharinaiḥ,  
vimarśādarśāntaḥpratiphaladalaṃkāraracanair  
agastyah paurastyān anusarati sūktaiḥ sumanasah.

anādrīya ślāghyān bhuvi (bahu) nibandhān abhiratiṃ  
kṛtau vaiyāsakyāṃ racayitur agastyasya viduṣah,  
vasantī vāgdevī kṛtini rasanāgre vitanute  
nā paryanke paṅkeruhi mahati śanke viharāṇam.

In these verses the author refers to himself as Agastya only, and no indication is found at all regarding the title Vidyānātha. If it was a



title of Agastya, the author would have given some indication here and elsewhere to convey his proud privilege of having received the covetable title from his great patron.

IX. I see one more point in the second verse to support the view of difference between the two. Agastya says clearly in this verse that he was inclined to ignore even the praiseworthy works of other writers in view of his great fondness and admiration for the writings of Vedavyāsa. Some of the available works of Agastya such as the *Kṛṣṇacarita*, the *Bālabhārata* and the *Nalakṛtikaumudī* seem to confirm his admiration for the writings of Vyāsa. I doubt very much whether such a writer as Agastya of these works, with his outspoken nature and temperament as noted above, would have written the work like the *Pratāparudrīya* in which the author seems to have spent much of his poetic wealth and talents for glorifying an individual from the beginning till the end, where the writings of Vyāsa seem to have been ignored contrary to his avowed intentions mentioned in the second verse after the colophon at the end of the *Kṛṣṇacarita*. This probably indicates that Agastya and Vidyānātha are not identical.

X. If Vidyānātha and Agastya were identical, the author of the *Pratāparudrīya* would have noted some of his own works like the *Bālabhārata*, the *Nalakṛtikaumudī* and others, while giving examples of different *Kāvya*s defined in the *Pratāparudrīya*. I mean instead of simply noting as *padyakāvyam Raghuvamśādi* he would have noted as *Raghuvamśubālabhāratādi*, and instead of *Harṣacaritādi* he would have noted as *Harṣacaritakṛṣṇacaritādi*. In a work like the *Pratāparudrīya*, the author would have mentioned some of his other works at least casually, if Vidyānātha did write any works other than the *Pratāparudrīya* (and the illustrative drama the *Pratāparudrakalyāṇa*) just as Viśvanātha, the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* mentions in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* some of his other works like the *Rāghavavilāsa* (under III. 222-224), the *Kuvalayāśvacarita* (III, 149), the *Prabhāvatīpariṇaya* (under III. 58.) the *Candrakalā* (III. 96) and the *Praśastiratnāvalī* (VI. 337).

XI. The *Kṛṣṇacarita*, which is not a *kathā* because the story is not a fiction created by the author, is perhaps to be taken, hypothetically speaking, as an *ākhyāyikā*. But the definitions, of *ākhyāyikā* given in the *Pratāparudrīya* are not at all followed in the *Kṛṣṇacarita*. There is no division into *ucchvāsa*s, and there is no *vaktṛa* or *aparavaktṛa* verse in the *Kṛṣṇacarita*. Vidyānātha's definition of *ākhyāyikā* seems to be similar in some respects to the one given by Bhāmaha (*Vidyānātha* does not mention the point *nāyakenaiva vācyā* included by Bhāmaha). Unlike Vidyānātha, Agastya seems to follow Daṇḍin in the definition and other respects of the *Gadyakāvya*. This point will be explained further



while dealing with the next topic; For these reasons, I feel that Agastya and Vidyānātha are entirely different persons.

The present work, the *Kṛṣṇacarita*

The *Kṛṣṇacarita* deals with the exploits of *Kṛṣṇa* beginning from the arrival of भूदेवता, & then His birth and ending with the episode of *Pārijātāharana*. The entire story seems to have been taken from the tenth *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata*. There are no innovations or deviations as far as the items dealt with are concerned. The author has presented the narration in the *Gadya* form in which his poetic talents have an abundant play at every step. The composition is a beautiful one, consisting, as it does, of excellent expressions and ideas, and fine figures of speech and absorbing descriptions. Like other subsequent writers, the author seems to follow in several respects the great Bāṇabhaṭṭa the unbeaten Master-poet of the *Gadyakāvya*-s. Generally speaking, in introducing and arranging the events, in the method of presentation of the subject, and in describing Sunrise, Sunset, Moonrise, Moonlight, Moonset, and suitable seasons, the author seems to have received effective inspiration from Bāṇa. But, I did not come across any reproductions *in toto* of either ideas or paragraphs, or compound expressions from Bāṇa's works. For instance, in the *Śukanāsopadeśa* in the *Kādambarī* we see the beginning thus : *tāta candrāpīḍa Viditaveditavyasya adhītasarvaśāstrasya te nālpamapy upadeśavyam asti*. In the *Gadyacintāmaṇi*, the writer Vadībhasiṃha not only incorporates the idea of the *upadeśa*, but also begins it imitating Bāṇa thus : *vatsa balaniśūdānapurodhasampi svabhāvatīkṣṇayā dhiṣṇayā dhikkurvati sarva-pathānapāṇḍitye bhavati paśyāmi nāvakāśam upadeśānām*. Reproductions of ideas or commencing etc. of this type are not seen in the *Kṛṣṇacarita*. Apart from the general method noted above, in working out and presenting the details, the author of the *Kṛṣṇacarita* is the master of himself. Most of the expressions and ideas and their specific arrangements are entirely his own, one could see much originality in these and other brilliant details in the work.

The title of the work as found in the colophon at the end of both the Telugu and Grantha Manuscripts, and in the two verses after the colophon found in the Grantha Manuscript, is clearly the *Kṛṣṇacaritam*. As the entire story of the *Kṛṣṇacarita*, seems to be based on the tenth *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata*, the expression *Kṛṣṇacarita*, for the title, was probably adopted by the author from the *Bhāgavata*, where the relevant line reads :

(*pratyarcya*) *kṛṣṇacaritam kalikalmaṣaghnam,*  
*vyāhartum ārabhata bhāgavatapradhānaḥ.* (Bhāg. X.1.14)



The difference between *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā* was perhaps generally known even before Bāṇa. Amara notes as *prabaṇḍhakalpanā kathā* and *ākhyāyikopalabdhārthā*<sup>8</sup>. Of course different definitions were given later by different writers, like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Rudraṭa, Bhoja, Hemacandra, Vidyānātha and others. Which one of the writers is in the mind of Agastyapaṇḍita is not known. In the light of the generally known difference between the two compositions, the *Kṛṣṇacarita* not being a fiction created by our author, may not be a *Kathā*. If it were to be a *Kathā*, the title also would have been one in the feminine gender. Bhojarāja mentions in his *Sṛṅgāraprakāśa* (XI) several varieties of *Kathā* literature like, *Kathā*, *Khaṇḍakathā*, *Parikathā* and *Upakathā* (and *Bṛhatkathā* by itself a variety). But the illustrations of all these types, as supplied by Bhoja, seem to have the title only in feminine gender. The *Kṛṣṇacarita* was probably not intended to be a *Kathā*.

The question whether the *Kṛṣṇacarita* is to be taken as an *ākhyāyikā* like *Harṣacarita* will be answered easily when we consider the following points.

Bhāmaha in his *Kāvya-lamkāra* divides the *Gadyakāvya* into two types the *Ākhyāyikā* and the *Kathā*. In his definition of the *Ākhyāyikā*, Bhāmaha informs us that an *Ākhyāyikā*, should be narrated by the hero of the work (*vṛttam ākhyāyate tasyāṁnāyaken svaceṣṭitam* 1.26), and that in the *Ākhyāyikā* verses in *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* metre should also be used indicating future events, and the work should have the divisions known as the *ucchvāsa*-s. Even the *Harṣacarita*, which is designated by Bāṇa himself as an *Ākhyāyikā*, is not narrated by the hero, Harṣa. Perhaps Bhoja wanted to improve on the definition of the *Ākhyāyikā* given by Bhāmaha, to suit the *Harṣacarita*, as he says thus :

kanyāpahārasaṅgarasamāgamābhyudayabhūṣitaṃ yasyām,  
nāyakacaritaṃ brūte nāyaka evāsya vānucaraḥ.  
vaktrāparavaktravatī socchvāsā samskṛtena gadyena,  
sākhyāyiketi kathitā mādhavikā-harṣacaritādi.  
(*Sṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Mysore edn, 1963, XI. p. 469)

Here the alternative *asya vā anucaraḥ nāyakacaritaṃ brūte* is added by Bhoja, which is not found in Bhāmaha's, though other items are same. Daṇḍin, however, rejected the definitions of *Ākhyāyikā* and *Kathā* as noted by Bhāmaha, and declared

tat kathākhyāyikety ekā jātīḥ samjñādvayānkitā,  
atraivāntarbhavīṣyanti śeṣāś cākhyānajatayaḥ.

(*Kāvya*. 1.28)



Daṇḍin would, thus, consider *gadyakāvya* as one class (*jāti*) of which other types like *Ākhyāyikā*, *Kathā* etc. would be simply different specimens. Vidyānātha seems to follow to some extent Bhāmaha in the definition of the *Ākhyāyikā*. Instead of adding, like Bhoja, the alternative : *asya vā anucaraḥ nāyakacaritam asyām brūte*, Vidyānātha leaves out item *ṛttam ākhyāyate tasyām nāyakena svaceṣṭitam* of Bhāmaha, and retains his other items, saying

*vaktram cāparavaktram ca socchvāsatvam ca bhedakam,  
varṇyate yatra kāvyajñair asāvākhyāyikā matā. (II. 72-73)*

In the light of this definition of Vidyānātha, the *Kṛṣṇacarita* cannot be an *ākhyāyikā* because of the fact that it does not contain any verse in *vaktra* or *aparavaktra* metre, or the division into *Ucchvāsa-s*. This fact definitely goes against the proposed identity between Agastya and Vidyānātha. How could he have ignored his own definition, if Vidyānātha was identical with Agastya ?

Our author seems to follow Daṇḍin in respect of the *Gadyakāvyas*. Agastya would perhaps simply call his *Kṛṣṇacarita* a *Gadyakāvya*, without attaching any name of the specific type like *Ākhyāyikā*. One may consider it to have some feature of the so-called *Ākhyāyikā*, in the light of Amara's statement, as the story was already wellknown in the *Bhāgavata*, and not a fiction created by the author.

To sum up. Vidyānātha seems to follow, to some extent, Bhāmaha in the definition of the *Ākhyāyikā*, as he includes in his definition the necessity of the verses in *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* metre, and of the division of the work into *Ucchvāsas* which are given by Bhāmaha first.

(2) The *Kṛṣṇacarita* does not have these aspects, and therefore cannot be an *Ākhyāyikā* in the light of Vidyānātha's definition.

(3) The *Kṛṣṇacarita* (with the title in neuter gender) cannot be a *Kathā*, as the story is not a fiction created by the author, but taken from earlier sources and was already well-known.

(4) Agastya seems to be a follower of Daṇḍin, and consequently he would perhaps simply call his work merely a *Gadyakāvya*, though one may find in it some aspect of the so-called *Ākhyāyikā*.

(5) The *Kṛṣṇacaritā*, thus, seems to prove that Agastya and Vidyānātha were not identical.



## FOOTNOTES

1. Viśvanātha in his *Saugandhikāharana* (N.S.P. edn. 1934) has the following two verses in the *prastāvanā* :

*Viśvanātha iti khyātaḥ kavir asti yaduktayaḥ,  
Akāñcanam aratnam ca viduṣāṃ karnabhūṣaṇam. (v. 3)*

*athavā*

*vācas tasya karver udāramadhurā ity atra citram kimu  
prakhyātaḥ sakalās dikṣu guṇiṣu śreyān agastyah sudhīḥ  
vedhaścandramukhīkārāṅgulidalāsaṅgakvaṇadvallakī-  
vācayuktisahoktidarśitasudhājanmā sa yanmātulaḥ. (4)*

Earlier Viśvanātha also refers to Pratāparudra, the Kākatīya ruler of warrangal, by whom Vidyānātha and others were patronized. It is believed that Viśvanātha and his maternal uncle Agastyapaṇḍita too were similarly patronized by Pratāparudra (of 1292-1323 A.D.)

2. Gaṅgādevī says :

*ciram sa vijayābhūyād viśvanāthah kavīśvaraḥ,  
yasya prasādāt sārvañyam samindhe mādṛśeṣv api.*

3. *History of South India* ; by K.A.N. Sastri, 1966, page 266.

4. *Ibid.*

5. See *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*,  
volume X. no 4 : 1920 ; pages 381-384, particularly p. 383.

6. See P.P.S. Sastri's Introduction to his edition of the three Cantos of the *Bālābhārata* ; Vanivilasa Press edn. 1939, and M. Krishnama-charya's *History of Classical Sanskrit Liter.* under Agastya ; S. Tiruvenkatachari's Introduction (pp. 3-4) to his edition of the *Madhurāvijaya* of Gaṅgādevī,

Annamalai University Publication, 1957 ; See also *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Volume I, under Agastyapaṇḍita ; Madras University Publication.

7. I mention the *Kṛṣṇacarita* simply hypothetically speaking.



## ORISSA, THE LAND OF JAYADEVA

*Prof. B. Rath, Govt. Evening College, Berhampur, Orissa*

The *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva is a unique work in the History of Sanskrit Literature. The poem describes the amorous dalliances of Rādhā-kṛṣṇa with the excellent ideational subtleties and superb stylistic elegance which have become a perennial source of inspiration and elation to the thinkers and literateurs alike. Owing to its immense popularity it has claimed more than fifty commentaries and hundred and twentyfive counterfeits. Though it has been accepted as a vade-mecum in the field of creative choral compositions and religious pursuits in India, for the last hundreds of years, yet, from the historical standpoint, an important question about the home land of Jayadeva has not been settled so far. An attempt, therefore, has been made herein to offer a solution to the problem.

A few scholars<sup>1</sup> are of opinion that the poet belonged to the court of king Lakṣmaṇa Sena of Bengal and that he was born in the village Kenduli situated on the bank of the river 'Ajaya' in the District of Bīrbhūm. In support of this conclusion they have advanced a number of arguments which invite immediate attention of the scholars and demand a serious and thorough examination of the theory.

It is generally argued that Jayadeva in his G.G. refers<sup>2</sup> to himself along with the poets like Umāpatidhara, Śaraṇa, Ācārya Govardhana

1. (i) Bangalira itihasa-Dr. Nihara Ranjan Ray  
(ii) History of Bengal. Dacca University. G.G. verse No. 4

2. vācaḥ pallavayatyumāpatidharaḥ  
sandarbhasuddhim girām  
jānīte jayadeva eva śaraṇaḥ  
sādhyaedurūhe dṛte  
śṅgārottaraśāt prameya racanaḥ  
ācārya govardhanaḥ  
sparddhi kōpi naviśrutaḥ śrutidhare  
dheyī kavi kṣmāpatih //



and Dheyī. As these four poets belonged to the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, very likely, he also adorned the royal court and was a contemporary of these poets. But this supposition does not stand to scrutiny as excepting the case of Dheyī<sup>3</sup> no historical data are available to prove the belonging of the other three poets, to the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. The theory gives rise to a problem of chronology which is to be solved by the historical analysis of the date of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and his relations with the poets.

On the basis of Saduktikarṇāmṛtam<sup>4</sup> of Śrīdhara Dāsa, the period of reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is approximately fixed as 1184-1205 AD. The poet Umāpatidhara is known to be the writer of Deopara record<sup>5</sup> of king Vijaya Sena (1125-60 AD). So the possibility of his association with the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the grand-son of Vijaya Sena is doubtful. Also the date<sup>6</sup> of the composition of the G.G. (1150AD), as accepted almost certainly, does not tally with the time of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. Poet śaraṇa makes a vague reference to a "Senakula Tilaka" in one of his stray verses<sup>7</sup> preserved in the Saduktikarṇāmṛtam. The name of this sena king is not known. Moreover the authorship of the different verses are ascribed to Śaraṇa Deva, Śaraṇa Datta, and cirantana śaraṇa, who are not probably identical. Ācārya Govardhana has been established<sup>8</sup> as a man of Niāli Śāsana in the District of Puri. It is known from a commentary that his mention of a "Senakulatilaka bhūpati" in his Āryāsaptasatī refers to Pravara Sena, the author of Setubandha kāvyam: Again it is note worthy that not a single stanza from Āryāsapta-

3. Dheyī in his pavanadūtam refers to 'Lakṣmaṇam Kṣoṇipālam' J.A.S. 1905 PP. 41.71.
4. The sadukti Karṇāmṛta was compiled in śaka year 1127-"Śake śaptavimśatyadhika śatopeta daśasate" i.e. in 1205 A.D. in the 21st regnal year of king Lakṣmaṇa Sena-Srimānlakṣmaṇa Sena Kṣitipasya tasyaika vimśebde" This indicates the king Lakṣmaṇa Sena was ruling from 1184 to 1205 A.D.
5. Inscription of Bengal Vol. III P. 49.
6. Souvenir on Jayadeva PP. 13-18. Ed. by Dr N.K. Sahu Jayadeva Sānskritika Pariṣad, Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 1968.
7. "Sevābhir yadi senavaṁsa tilakād āsādanīya śriyaḥ".
8. Vide Orissa Historical Research Journal Vol. VII April, 58 "Govardhanācārya & Udayanācārya" by K.N. Mahapatra.



sati is preserved in the Saduktikarnāmṛtaṁ. Thus poet Umāpati Śaraṇa and Govardhana have nowhere mentioned the name of Lakṣmaṇa Sena as has been done explicitly by Śrīdhara Dās<sup>9</sup>, Dheyi<sup>10</sup> and Halāyudha<sup>11</sup> in their respective works.

More over some scholars<sup>12</sup> expressed their doubts about the very genuineness of the verse<sup>13</sup> of the G.G. in question. The contents of the verse amount to mocking at the illustrious poets, which appears to be somewhat improper on the part of a poet and devotee like Jayadeva. Even Ranakumbha in his Rasikapriyā commentary expresses his grave apprehension over the authorship of this particular verse.

Further nowhere in the G.G. we find any direct or indirect reference to king Lakṣmaṇa Sena or any other king. On the other hand we come across two references in the G.G. and in one of its old manuscripts that it was written for the prepotiation of Lord Jagannātha<sup>14</sup> only.

Again the verse under reference gives only the poet's own estimate of himself and four other poets. But it does not imply directly or indirectly that the five poets were contemporaries and were associated with the same court. Besides it is also well-known to the students of Sanskrit Literature that it was a traditional practice<sup>15</sup> with Sanskrit poets to compare the merits of one's own work with the same of the

9. "Sa śrī Lakṣmaṇa Sena eka nṛpatir muktaśca jīvanabhūt" Saduktikarnāmṛtaṁ.
10. "Dṛṣṭvādevaṁ bhuvana vijaye lakṣmaṇaṁ kṣaṇipālaṁ" (V. 2) Pavanadūtaṁ.
11. "Vijaya rasikamate lakṣmaṇa kṣaṇibhartuh" — Brāhmaṇa Sarvasvaṁ.
12. Dr. N.K. Sahu in his article published in "Souvenir on Jayadeva" P. 10.
13. G.G. verse No. 4—Vācaḥpallavayatyumāpati dharah etc.
14. "Prityai śrīpuruṣottamasya racitam Śrīgītagovindakam"

It is quoted from an MS. which is copied in the 1st regnal year of Virakesari Deva.

Vide also G.G. the last verse "Vyāpārāḥ puruṣottamasya dadatu sphītāṁmudāṁ saṁpadāṁ.

15. Vide Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II by Ravikirti Rājasekharā's Bālarāmāyaṇa, History of I.P.P.V. Kane P. 203 and so on.



others. Thus due to the paucity of plausible and authentic evidences, it will be historically unsound to arrive at a definite conclusion that the five poets referred to in the verse were contemporaneous to one another and adorned the same royal court.

In order to prove Jayadeva's association with the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the following traditional verse is often cited, where Jayadeva alongwith the above four poets have been enlisted as the Jewels of the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena i.e. "Govardhanaśca Śaraṇo Jayadeva umāpatiḥ Kavirājaśca ratnāni samitan lakṣmaṇasyaca".

This verse is alleged to have been noticed<sup>16</sup> for the first time by Rūpa and Sanātana Goswāmin, at Navadvīpa three hundred years after Lakṣmaṇa Sena and the report of which came to us after four hundred years. As the verse lacks the authenticity of any kind, it has been accepted by the scholars as a spurious one or hearsay,<sup>17</sup> and hence need not be discussed here at length.

Another interesting point is that Jayadeva unequivocally declares his belonging to 'Kenduivilva'.<sup>18</sup> All the commentaries of the G.G. have accepted 'Kenduivilva' as the birth place of Jayadeva. The location and the identification of the village 'Kenduivilva' has become a matter of long-standing controversy among scholars. A host of critics have tried to identify the 'Kenduivilva' with the Kenduli village situated on the bank of the Ajaya river in the Birbhum District of Bengal; while the Orissan scholars assay to locate the place Kenduivilva near the Prataparudrapur śāsana between the rivers prāci and Kuśābhadrā and try to identify the same with the Kenduli śāsana in the District of Puri.

The advocates of Bengal origin of the poet, refer to a Bengali book entitled "Jayadeva Carita" by one Banamālī Dās which presents strange accounts about Jayadeva. According to it when the father of padmāvati arrived at the village kenduivilva of Birbhum with his daughter in search of the God-ordained groom Jayadeva, the villagers told him that they know nothing about Jayadeva or his parentage; but, however, they had seen a lunatic named Jayadeva in the village. The very fact that

16. Virabhum vivarana e.g. "श्री रूप श्री सनातन श्रीधाम नवद्वीपे लक्ष्मण सेनेर सभागृह द्वारे निम्नोक्त श्लोकति अङ्कित देखिया छिलेन्"

17. O.H.R.J. vol. VII. Oct. 58 & Jan. 59 Nos. 3 & 4 P. 195-96

18. G.G. 3rd ceurte-Varnitam Jayadevakena hareridam pravanena Kinduivilva samudrasambhava rohiṇīraṁaṇena.



the co-villagers did know nothing about the great poet and his parentage demolishes the theory advocated on that basis.

The authenticity of the said 'Jayadeva carita' is challenged<sup>19</sup> by scholars. This work has been published by vangiya sahitya pariṣad, Calcutta from a single manuscript of the work in 1803 A.D. Nothing is known about the original manuscript nor a second manuscript of this work has been discovered anywhere in Bengal.<sup>20</sup>

Further to support this identification, the association of poet Jayadeva with the temple of Rādhāvinoda, and a vaiṣṇava matha at Kenduli is persistently asserted. Also it is said that an annual fair on the full-moon day of Māgha is held there in honour of the poet. The argument, however, is not based on strong grounds. The temple of the God Rādhāvinoda whom Jayadeva was said to be worshipping daily, was constructed by the mother of Mahārāja Kirticandra of Burdwan in Saka year 1614 or 1692 A.D.<sup>21</sup> while the vaiṣṇava matha was established there early in the 18th century A.D. by Brajavāsi Rādhāmohana whose 9th successor is now the Mahanta of the Matha. Had this Kenduli been the birth place of Jayadeva, Caitanya would not have resisted himself from visiting the place and the extensive vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal written in post Chaitanya period would have been vociferous in the glorification of the Shrine. The conspicuous silence in this matter on the part of the great goswamins proves that the preaching of Kenduli in the district of Birbhum as the sacred place of birth of Jayadeva is started after the building of the Rādhāvinoda temple here in the fag end of the 17th century.

From the above analysis of the fact it appears that the attempts, in some quarters, made to identify the Kenduivilva of G.G. with the Kenduli of Bengal on the basis of the myth described in the Jayadeva carita are of little historical value and not authenticated by any other supporting literary evidences.

19. The souvenir on Jayadeva PP. 22-41. Vide the article by K.N. Mahapatra.

20. Virabhum vivarana-Sri H.K. Mukhopadhyay 1323 sal P. 201.

“कोन आदर्श पुथि हइते इह ग्रन्थ ठाकल कराह्य, ताहा जानाजाय नाई । ए ग्रन्थ अन्य कोथाओ पाओया जायनाई ।”

21. (i) Bangala sahityera itihasa, Dr. S. Sen Vol. I. P. 41

(ii) Virabhum vivarana P. 229.



It may not be out of place here to mention that the Kenduli of Birbhum was not known in Bengal upto 18th century A.D. as the Bengali *Bhaktamālā*<sup>22</sup> of Kṛṣṇadāsa of 18th century bears ample testimony to it by referring kenduvilva near Puri as the place of birth of the celebrated poet. In this connection the following observation of Sir William Jones, who was interested in ascertaining the birth place of Jayadeva, is remarkable and significant. Sir Jones in his article<sup>23</sup> written in 1784 and published in 1799 remarks.

.....“I had hope of procuring the original music, (of Jayadeva) but the Pandits of the South referred me to those of the West and the Brahmins of the West would have me sent to those of the South while they, I mean those of Nepal and Kashmir, declared that they had no ancient music, but imagined that the notes to the Gita Govinda must exist if anywhere in one of the Southern Provinces where the poet was born”.

Sir William Jones again in the preface to his English translation<sup>24</sup> of *Gita Govinda* observes—

“...Gita Govinda ; it was the work of Jayadeva, who flourished, it is said, before Kālidasa and was born, as he tells us himself, in Kenduli, which many believe to be in Kalinga ; but since there is a town of similar name in Burdwan, the natives of it insist that the finest lyrical poet of India was their country man”.

From the above citations it is clear that Sir William Jones a Judge of the supreme court tried for ten years to collect correct information about the poet and concluded that Jayadeva was born in one of the Southern provinces. Further he recorded the belief of the people that Kenduli the birth place of the poet was in Kalinga or Orissa. It is also evident from his statement that by his time attempts were made in Bengal to claim the “finest lyrical poet of India” “as their country man” on the ground of similarity of the name of Kenduli village in Burdwan.

It is the mockery of history that in the time of Sir Jones, Orissa was not annexed to the British empire<sup>25</sup>. Jones could neither visit Puri nor

22. Published by vasumati Sahitya Mandir in 1922 AD P. 2.

23. Asiatic researches Vol. III 1799 PP. 83-84.

24. Preface to the *Gita Govinda* translated by Sir William Jones and published by Upendralal Das Calcutta 1894.

25. Orisā began to be ruled by Britishers in 1803 AD for the first time.



was able to procure the correct information there from through British officers. Thus the village Kenduli in Burdawan as mentioned in the "Musical modes of Hindus" by Jones, was repeated in the "Lyrical drama" a Latin translation of the Gitagovinda, by the French scholar Lasson in 1837. Though he referred to Burdwan as the birth place of Jayadeva yet he expressed his doubts in its authenticity by recording "for the locality is doubtful". But Edwin Arnold followed Lasson and recorded in his "Indian song of songs" (1875) that poet Jayadeva belonged to Bengal. This view is repeated in all the later works till today by a thousand and one writers without caring for its proper examination.

At last we would like to quote the opinion of Dr. Sukumar Sen, an unchallengeable authority in Bengali as well as in sanskrit literature who declares the theory as baseless, Dr. Sen opines—

"There might have existed a village called Kenduli in Bengal in the past, but it does not exist at present. Though the place where the mela or annual fair is held in honour of Sri Jayadeva, is vaguely called Kenduli, it has got no connection with any village. The mela is held on the sandy strip of land on the bank of the Ajaya river on the day of Pauṣa Sankrānti for taking bath in its water. The name of the adjoining village is not Kenduli. There is no evidence regarding the existencce of the Kenduli village in this locality. Only the mela held on the occasion of taking a dip in the holy water of the river by a vast crowd of people on the first day of the auspicious month of makara is known as 'Jayadeva-Kenduli' or simply 'Kenduli'. Investigation is to be made to find out whether the term Kenduli is more commonly used in this region for denoting a mela. There is no mention of Jayadeva nor is there any reference to Kenduli or any other place as birth place or place of residence of Jayadeva in the literature of the days of Śrī Chaitanya. The birth place of Nityānanda is not very far from this place. So the silence of the biographies of Sri Chaitanya about the existence of Kenduli is really surprising. The history of the temple and the sacred precincts starts only from 1694 AD" (supposed to be the year of construction of the temple)<sup>26</sup>."

The historical accounts presented by Dr. Sen in the passage cited above go to establish beyond all doubts that no village named Kenduli existed or exists on the bank of the Ajaya river in the district of Birbhum and thus the gratuitous assumptions regarding the birth place of Jayadeva in Bengal are set effectively at rest.

26. Bāṅgalā sāhityera itihāsa. Vol. I Part-I 1967 ed. P. 41—by Dr. Sukumar Sen. The English rendering of the Bengali passage is taken from "Souvenir on Jayadeva" P. 33.



On the other hand the Kendulī śāsana on the prāci river, in Orissa is conveniently identified with the Kenduvilva of Jayadeva basing on a series of plausible and convincing grounds.

Candradatta a scholar of Mithila in his Sanskrit Bhaktamālā records—

“Jagannātha puri prānte deśecaivotkalāvidhe  
kinduvilva iti khyāte grame brāhmaṇa samkulah//  
tatrokale dvijejāte Jayadeva iti śrutah  
vidyābhyāsaratas santaḥ puruṣottamapūjakaḥ<sup>27</sup>”

The accounts given by Candradatta appear to be based on first hand information as his personal presence at Puri is ascertained by his repeated reference to the glory of Lord Jagannāth and to the extraordinary religious practices<sup>28</sup> prevalent at Puruṣottama Kṣetra only.

The Brāhmaṇa village Kinduvilva referred to by Candradatta as the birth place of poet Jayadeva is located, beyond all doubts, near the Prataparudrapur Śāsana standing between the Prāci and Kuṣabhadra rivers under the Bāliantā police station of Puri district in Orissa. The Kenduvilva Śāsana is now divided into three parts i.e. Kendulī Śāsana<sup>29</sup> (a brāhmin colony) Kendulī Deulī (seat of temples) and Kendulī patnā<sup>30</sup>.

The statement of Candradatta is further corroborated by a more authentic evidence furnished by Nārāyaṇa Dāsa the great grandfather of the famous rhetorician Śrī Viśvanāth Kavirāja of Orissa. Nārāyaṇa Dāsa in the early 14th century wrote his Sarvāṅga Sundarī commentary on the Gīta Govinda where he has clearly stated that the kenduvilva<sup>31</sup> of the G.G. is nothing else than “Kendu vilvākhyā

27. Bhakta mālā published by Kṣemarāja Śrī Kṛṣṇadāsa, venkatesvar press Bombay. P. 61. Sarga 39.

28. Anyatrā dvija samsprṣṭaṁ bhoktuṁna jāyatemanaḥ

Jagannātha pure snāti sarvaśreṣṭha dvijopihi//  
Bhaktamālā 149 Sarga P. 214.

29. Śāsana specifically means in Orissa, a village where only Brāhmins reside, and no other man belonging to any other caste.

30. Vide the sheet No. 73 H/16 one inch Tope map.

31. G.G. 3rd canto--“Kinduvilva-samudra sambhava-rohiṇi ramaṇena.”



śāsanam<sup>32</sup>”. Also in this connection the evidence supplied by Rāṇākumbha the author of the Rasikapriyā commentary on the G.G. is very interesting. In the middle of 15th century the learned commentator records that “Kinduvilvam tat śāsanam<sup>33</sup>”

The authentic statements, of the commentators noted above, convincingly establish the identification of Kinduvilva with the Brāhmana village Kenduli śāsana on the Prāci river near Puri, whereas the so called Kenduli on the Ajaya river loses its ground as it was never a śāsana or a Brāhmana village known to the students of history.

It may not be out of place here to state that the word ‘śāsana’ has a great significance in the cultural history of Orissa. Right from the somavamsi emperor Jajāti Kesari (9th cent. AD) a number of śāsanas as the cultural centres were established throughout Orissa, from time to time, by its benevolent kings. The Kenduli is undoubtedly one of them which bears the testimony to that tradition. The cultural and devotional environment, of śāsanas situated in the Prāci river valley and in the adjacent area is beautifully recorded in Śevanesvara<sup>31</sup> and Megnesvara<sup>35</sup> Temple inscriptions composed by udayānācārya, the younger brother of

32. Quoted from the Ms. of Sarvāṅgasundartikā preserved in the MS. Library of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

“kindu vilvākhyā śāsanam taccamahatvāt samudratvena rūpitam tadevam kinduvilva śāsanājjātaḥ tasyaivonnati kārako yathā sāgarājjātaḥ candra sāgara vṛddhi kāraka ityarthah.

33. Rasikapriyā published with the Rasamañjarī, a commentary on the Gītāgovinda in the Kavyamāla series.

34. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XVII. 1931. P. 119-135

“Kvaciddeve dīpā kvacidapi tadāgāhkvacidrumāḥ maṭhā pūjā kvāpi kvacidapi tathā mandapa cayāḥ/prapāḥ kvāpi kvāpi pratipada mudārā kṣitirahe Bibhānti Kṣamācakre jaladhi valaye yasya paritah // 21

35. J.A.S. Bengal Vol. LXVI, 1897 PP. 18-24.

“Apāmsālāmālāḥ pathi pathi tadāgāḥ pratipuram pradīpāḥ sampūrnāḥ pratisuragrham yasya vimalā maṭhā vedādīnām dvijapura viharāḥ pratidiśam birājante satrānyapica paritah setunivahāḥ//”



Govardhānacārya in 1180 AD. The descriptions aptly reveal the cultural heritage of the area where the Kenduli śāsana is situated.

It is very interesting to note that the village Kenduli on the Prāci river in Puri District of Orissa is rich in archaeological and iconographical antiquities and has a long standing tradition as the birth place of the poet Jayadeva. The village is surrounded by the old brick temples and sculptures of śaiva, vaiṣṇava, and śākta cults some of which are attributed to 10th and 11th century A.D. Out of the old images found in the shrines the Nakulisā, Bhairava, Mādhava, Ambikā and Jāgeśvarī are considered iconographically very important. Even today a two armed image (both the arms broken) with heavy matted hair is worshipped by the local people as the sage Jayadeva. There are two Mādhava images in good state of preservation and they can well be ascribed to 10th and 11th century A.D. The two goddesses—Ambikā and Jāgeśvarī beautifully chiselled out of black chlorite, are the objects of great interest in the locality and they are regarded as the presiding deities of the village. It is said that Jāgeśvarī was originally installed under a Kendu tree and Ambikā under a vilva tree, because of which the place was named as Kenduvilva. In fact the image of Jāgeśvarī is now found under an old Kendu tree, although Ambikā is installed inside a broken brick temple. The lintel of the entrance of this temple contains a small inscription with figures of 1112 in the margin which can be read as "Jaya Jaya deva hare 1112". This temple was thus built in commemoration of poet Jayadeva in śaka year 1112 or 1190 AD. A peculiar practice is still in vogue in the temple that the Gitagovinda in place of Durgā saptaśatī is recited before the Goddess. This is undoubtedly an infallible indication of great popularity of the Gitagovinda in that locality. Inside the village a temple is dedicated to God Lakṣmīnṛsimha and the image of Nṛsimha carrying Lakṣmī on his lap reveals iconographic peculiarities of the Ganga period. The place is also the find spot of a set of copper plate grants issued by the Ganga King Narasimha Deva IV who ruled from 1378 to 1408 AD. About two miles South East of the village is the confluence of three rivers, the Prāci, the Kusabhadra and the Dhanuā which is regarded as Triveni with a halo of sacred traditions. The Viṣṇu worshipped here is named Triveni Mādhava and every year a big fair is held here on the Amāvasyā day of the month of Māgha. Triveni Mādhava, and the Triveni fair held in His honour are attributed to the period of the Ganga rule in Orissa and are

36. At first Ed. by M.M. Cakravarti in J.A.S. Bengal Vol. LXV 1895 and re-edited by Sri S.N. Rajaguru in O.H.R.J. Vol. VPP 1—100



referred to by late medieval literature including the Kapila Samhitā<sup>37</sup> and the Prāci mātmya<sup>38</sup>.

Moreover we find poet Jayadeva was a great devotee of Madhava<sup>39</sup>. A number of old Mādhava Temples attributed to the pre ganga era are seen around the village Kenduli Śāsana. The Mādhava worship in Orissa has a great antiquity.<sup>40</sup> A dozen of big Mādhava images beautifully carved in chlorite stone and the famous Mādhavānanda Temple nearby the place in the Prāci river valley show the richness and the glorious tradition of the place in Mādhava faith. The beautiful Nīlamādhava image of 9th century is still worshipped at Gandharādi near Baud Town. This was the cultural and religious milieu of the place where Jayadeva was born and brought up. This inspiring environment of Mādhava faith perhaps provided him with the proper incentive and accentuated his rapturous feelings to sing the glory of his Mādhava who is none else than his Jagannātha<sup>41</sup> or Jagadīśa<sup>42</sup> of Puri.

The above discussion tranpires that the Kenduli śāsana on the Prāci river is rich in historical evidences, archeological back ground and devotional environment, to be accepted as the birth place of Jayadeva, whereas the so called Kenduli on the Ajaya river sadly lacks in all these respects.

37. Kapila Samhitā published by late Ratnākara Gargavatu PP. 105-106.

*Triveni Sangamaṁ tatra mahāpunya pradāyakaṁ /  
tatra snānaṁ mahīpāla māghamāse prakirtitaṁ //*  
*Sarvatra sukha sancāre vidvajjana manohare /  
tatra vilveśvaronāma vilvamūlāśrito harah //*

38. There is a work in Sanskrit called 'prāci mātmya' which gives an elaborate description of all the temples and other sacred places existing on the banks of the Prāci.
39. G.G. 1st verse "Rādhāmādhavayorjayani".....
40. Vide the history of Kalinga by Prof. Subba Rao PP. 180—182.
41. Jagannātha is well known as Nīlamādhava in purāṇas and in tradition.
42. G.G. Daśāvatara stuti—"Jayajagadīśahare" /



Apart from the grounds discussed above, a number of cogent arguments in support of the poet's orissan origin, can be well adduced to strengthen our conclusion. The space here does not allow us to have a fuller treatment of the subject ; however, a few important points, in this connection, are summarised and presented below in a nut-shell.

In Orissa we find the names of a number of villages originated from the names of the familiar trees of that area. Owing to the preponderance of Kendu trees, a series of villages have, accordingly, assumed the names like, Kendupadara, Kendujhara, Kendupatna and so on. This has also been evidenced by epigraphical records of Ganga Era<sup>43</sup>. Likewise the names of Belaguntha and vilvesvar etc., came into existence. Further Orissa is noted for its extensive forests of Kendu trees, the leaves of which form an important source of income to its exchequer. In fact the Keduilva or Kenduli village on the Prāci river must have been so named because of its surroundings, full of Kendu and Vilva trees, the remnants of which can be seen today. Thus the very name militates against the theory of Bengal Origin of the poet, as there is no fruit or tree under the name of Kendu, known anywhere in Bengal.<sup>43a</sup>

One Lingarāja temple inscription<sup>44</sup> throws much light on the subject. It is specially important that the epigraphical record speaks of a famous venerable sādhu named Jayadeva who was living near Jagannātha Puri on 21st February, 1163 AD. The presence of the saintly poet was required on the occasion of presenting a Mahādīpa in the temple of Kruttivāsa by an old and aristocratic lady named Medamā Devi. As the date of inscription tallies with the floruit of the saintly poet Jayadeva, the 'Sādhupradhāna' of the same name of the inscription, is conveniently identified with our poet of repute, and thus our conclusion is further corroborated.

The ten incarnations<sup>45</sup> of Kṛṣṇa as described in the G.G. were very popular in Orissa prior to the advent of Jayadeva in the field. The two Viṣṇu images<sup>46</sup> of 8th century AD discovered at saintālā in the district of Bolāngir of Orissa, are the earliest and finest representations

43. J.A.S.B. Vol. LXV (1896) Pt. I Ed. N.N. Basu.

43A. In Bengal it is called gāba < (gālava)

44. Inscriptions of Orissa Vol. III P. 294.

45. G.G. verse-5 "...Daśākṛtikṛte Kṛṣṇāya tubhyaṃ namaḥ"

46. J.K.H.R. Society Vol. II Nos. 2 & 3. PP. 124-125.



of ten incarnations, depicted by Sri Jayadeva. Apart from this, the Daśāvatāra image of 7th century preserved in the Tirtha Matha, under the jurisdiction of Erasamā police station of Cuttack District, the images of ten incarnations ascribed to the 9th century, found in the temple of Kākatapur in the district of Puri, the ten incarnation of Viṣṇu, found carved on the lintel over the Lion's gate of Jagannātha Temple of Puri in between 1112—1147 A.D., the Daśāvatāra Matha established at Puri, are the authentic archaeological evidences which undoubtedly prove the antiquity of Daśāvatāra theory in Orissa, which had perhaps inspired Jayadeva to compose the famous hymn to Jagadīśa Hari or Jagannātha of Puri. This long-standing tradition of ten incarnations in Orissa, which has been faithfully preserved in the G.G., indirectly supports our conclusion of the poet's Orissan Origin<sup>47</sup>.

The immense popularity of the G.G., in Orissa, brought about a remarkable change in Orissan iconography. We find after Jayadeva, Jagannātha, the national deity of Orissa, began to be regarded as another form of Kṛṣṇa, which has been evidenced by epigraphical records<sup>48</sup> right from 1278 AD. The earlier image of four handed Viṣṇu with conch, disc, Mace, lotus began to be replaced by the image of two handed Kṛṣṇa standing in a Trivanga pose, playing on flute and surrounded by Gopis. This historical phenomena is substantiated by availability, throughout in Orissa, of a number of Gopinātha images<sup>49</sup> attributed to Ganga period. Whereas, according to Dr. R.D. Banarjee,

47. Dr. P.C. Bagchi opines that the vaiṣṇavism in Bengal contributed largely to the systematisation of the theory of Daśāvatāra. This dictum does not stand to scrutiny in view of the ample archaeological evidences found in Orissa.

History of Bengal. Dacca University P. 403.

48. E.I. Vol. XIII. P. 150.

The Kṛṣṇa is substituted for Jagannāth in the inscription of Caṇḍrikā Devi in the Ananta Vāsudeva Temple of Bhubaneswar, dated 1278 A.D.

49. O.H.R.J. Vol. VII Oct. & Jan. 59 No. 3 & 4.

- (i) The Gopinātha image discovered from Dharmasāla, P.S.
- (ii) Three Gopinātha images of Alārpur, Hirāpur and Sara Kanā Village of Orissa. (1278—1307 AD)
- (iii) Gopinātha image of Remunā, Bālāsore district (1278—1307)
- (iv) Gopinātha image of somesvarapur (c 1264)
- (v) Gopinātha image of Bhagesvarapur, near Pipili (1264—1278)



“no image of Kṛṣṇa by himself earlier than the fifteenth century has been discovered anywhere in Bengal or Bihār<sup>50</sup>”

This should be considered no less a weighty ground in strengthening our conclusion.

Moreover the Gītas of Jayadeva are exclusively meant for Govinda. This Govinda is none but Lord Jagannātha of Puri. The significance of the sanctified utterances<sup>51</sup> traditionally uttered for the worship of Lord Jagannātha, bear ample testimony to this conclusion.

It is remarkable that the earliest commentaries of the Gitagovinda are written by the Orissan authors. Udayanācārya the younger brother<sup>52</sup> of Govardhanācārya and a junior compeer of Jayadeva has written a commentary entitled Bhāvavibhāvinī<sup>53</sup> while Nārāyaṇa Dasa wrote his ‘Sarvāṅgasundarī’<sup>54</sup> commentary in 13th century A.D.

Further the earliest counterfeits of the G.G. have also been written by Orissan scholars. The Abhinava Gitagovinda<sup>55</sup> of Puruṣottma Deva (15th century A.D.) and the Jagannātha Ballava Nāṭaka of Rāya Rāmānanda (15th century A.D.) have been accepted on all hands to be the earliest imitations. Apart from the two referred to above, we have twenty seven more works of this type, which were written by the scholars of Orissa. The glorious tradition of preservation and dissemination of Jayadeva’s music and manner in Orissa, and nowhere in any province of India, confirms Orissa’s claim of the poet as her own.

50. Eastern Indian School of Mediaval sculptures by R.D. Banarjee.

51. “Om kṛṣṇāya govindāya gopījana vallavāyasvāhā”.

52. History of Sanskrit literature by Dr. Dasgupta and Dr. De P. 666.

53. Aryāsaptaśatī ; colophon.

“udayana valabhadraḥbhyām  
saptaśatī śiṣyasodarābhyāmnah”

54. The manuscript is preserved in the Orissa State Museum Bhubaneswar-No. L/129.

55. O.B.R.J. Vol. IX. 1960, Nos. 3 & 4 PP. 51—68.

56. A paper “A study in the sanskrit Gitakavyas of Orissa” has been contributed by the present writer to the International Sanskrit Conference New Delhi, 1972.



It is note worthy that all the musical notes (Rāgas) used in the G.G. are found fully utilised with greater dimensions by the old oriya writers ; the zenith of which is illustrated in the lucubrations of Kavisamrat Upendra Bhanja. Whereas the Rāgas of the G.G. are rarely met with in the old Bengali literature. Apart from this the tremendous impact<sup>57</sup> of the mode and music of the G.G. on the rich lyric literature of Orissa has been established and shown elsewhere with hair-splitting analysis, which evidently supports our view points.

Another point should not be missed here that Sri Chaitanya (1509) for the first time could discover the jewel of Gītagovinda in Puri and came to realise the religious significance of the work from Rāya Rāmānanda on the banks of the Godāvāri when the Master was in his Peninsular pilgrimage.<sup>58</sup> Had it been written in Bengal the Master must have known it before his sojourn in Puri.

It is quite interesting to note that the palm-leaf manuscripts of the G.G. are found plenty in every village in the nooks and corners of Orissa which shows its tremendous influence and immense popularity in Orissa. Apart from this glaring feature the correct reading and the exact number of genuine verses of the G.G. are conveniently ascertained<sup>60</sup> from the literary records traditionally available in Orissa only.

Very recently a few poems, the authorship of which is attributed to the celebrated poet Jayadeva, has been discovered by two Orissan scholars.<sup>61</sup> The poems are written in the proto Oriya language mixed with Sanskrit style. Some striking similarities in the tenor and manner of the Gītagovinda are conspicuously seen in the poems. The colophons are more akin to that of the poet's Aṣṭapadīs found in the G.G. How-

57. Vide the Article of Dr. K.C. Panigrahi, Jhankar Vol. XXI. No. 10 Jan., 1970.

58. History of Oriya literature—Dr. Mayadhar Mansingh (Oriya version) PP. 130-138.

59. The Bengali book—"Srikṣetra" P. 243.

60. A paper—"A study in the imitations of Gitagovinda" has been contributed by the present writer to the ensuing All India Oriental Conference going to be held in Ujjain this year.

61. Vide the article of Dr. Bansidhar Mohanty Jhankar April, 1969. Vide also the book—"Oriyā Sāhityare" by N.N. Pradhān in the Appendix VII. PP. 215-219.



ever before making any remark on it, these poems should be carefully examined.

So far the uninterrupted religious tradition of Orissa is concerned, the Gītagovinda is an inseparable part of it. The earliest reference to Gītagovinda is found in the Madalā Pāñji or the Jagannātha temple chronicle which describes<sup>62</sup> that Kavi Narasimhadeva (1278-1306 AD) the son of illustrious Lāngulā aNrasimhadeva introduced the recitation of the Gītagovinda into the liturgy of Jagannātha temple of Puri. This has been reordained epigraphically by Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva (1504-1532 AD) through an Oriya inscription belonging to the Jaya Bijaya series.<sup>63</sup> The tradition of dancing and recitation of G.G. before the Lord inspired others to follow, and as a result of which in all the Viṣṇu temples of Orissa the recitation of the G.G. has become a part and parcel of the worship even today. Thus the role played by the G.G. in the religious tradition of Orissa can not be ignored at any rate while we are proving his Orissan Origin.

From the cultural and literary history<sup>64</sup> of Orissa we came to know that there were great authors in different subjects whose surname was 'Deva'. Thus we find 'Deva' has been suffixed to the historical names Jīva, Bhava, Bāma, Gopāla, Vāsu and Jaya etc. A number of copper plates, issued by the Bhaumakara Kings, reveal a number of names like this. Many royal preceptors, Brahmin by caste, bear the surname 'Deva'. Besides this, many learned poets of the illustrious family of the famous Kavidindima Jivadeva,<sup>65</sup> were having the same surname 'Deva'. Thus most likely Jaya Deva came of such a family in Orissa and wrote his immortal Gita govinda in the land of Jagannātha.

Orissa, the land of Jayadeva, has been unequivocally supported by a series of literary evidences, recorded in the works, written in different

62. Madalapanzi P. 36.

"Euttāru Kavi Narasimha Deva Rājā hoile Gītagovinda silou kale" (Subhadela).

63. Vide "Antiquities of Orissa" by R.L. Mitra Vol. II. P. 165 (Appendix).

64. Orissa under the Bhaumakara kings by Pt. Vinayaka Misra PP. 4-7.

65. Vide A Des. Cat. of sens. MSS. of Orissa Vol. II Preface P. XCIII.



parts of India beginning from 12th century to the present era. The Alamkāraśekhara of keśava Misra preserves a verse as an instance of literary blemish, the authorship of which is attributed to Sri Ācārya Govardhana. The verse,<sup>66</sup> under reference, states clearly that the poet Jayadeva belonged to utkal. The Sampradāyapradīpa of Gadādhara Dvivedi (1553-54 AD) explicitly states that Jayadeva belonged to Utkal<sup>67</sup>. Mahāpati of Mahārāṣṭra in his Bhaktavijaya speaks of the celebrated poet Jayadeva and records that the poet was an inhabitant of the village Tinduvila<sup>68</sup> near the sacred city of Jagannātha. Nāvāji of Gwalior in his Bhaktamālā in Hindi assigns Jayadeva to Utkal<sup>69</sup>. Candradatta of Mithila, already referred to above mentions beyond all doubts, that Jayadeva belonged to a Brahmin village Named Kinduvilva near the Jagannātha Puri. Even the modern writers like Śāmbasiva the author of a music work "the great composer", the historian V. Varadacharya, and Malani Suryanarayana sastry, the author of "Kavijivani carita" are of opinion that Jayadeva was a poet of Orissa. At last in this connection, we would like to mention the illuminating remarks of Dr. Āśuṭoṣa Bhaṭṭācārya who unequivocally declares that Jayadeva was an Oriya and in reality the annual festival observed at the Kenduli of Birbhum, is a Baul Mela and it has no relation with the birth of Jayadeva. The theory that the poet belonged to the court of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal is not acceptable because of his unchallengeable affinity to Orissa and its deity Lord Jagannātha.<sup>70</sup>

66. Quoted in Bangla viśvakoṣa ed by Nagendranatha Vasu P. 663.  
Alamkāraśekhara of keśava Misra, 2nd Ratna—

Prāk pratyak prthivivṛtopariśadi  
prakhyāta samkhyā vatām  
anhāyad bhuta tarka karkasa tayā  
vichidya vidyā madam  
yekepyutkal bhupate; tava sabhā  
sambhāvitā panditāḥ  
patraṃ Sri Jayadeva pandita Kavi  
stan mṛddhni vinyasyati //

67. History of Dharmasastra literature by MM. Dr. P.V. Kane, Vol. I  
PP. 660.

68. Tindu, Kindu and Kendu are synonyms in sanskrit.

69. J.K.H.R. Society Vol. I PP. 243 & 245.

70. 'Yugavāni' 7th June; 1969.



## PARATRAMĀRGA

### A BUDDHIST WAY AS TAUGHT IN MEDIEVAL JAVA

*Jacob Ensink*

In a conference that has "Sanskrit and world literature" as one of its subjects the discussion of a passage from an Old-Javanese kakavin certainly will not be considered out of place. This class of literary works has become well known especially by the publications of Himanshu Bhushan Sarkar and Hooykaas and therefore I may restrict myself to calling to mind that a kakavin is essentially that Daṇḍin terms a *sarga-bandha*.

Now the kakavin to which I want to call your attention, the Sutasoma kakavin, or, as its more correct title is, the *Puruṣāda śānta*, was written by mpu Tantular, a poet who appears to have worked in Eastern Java in the second half of the fourteenth century.

The connection of this work with the Sutasomajātaka as we know it from the Pāli Jātaka (no. 537) and Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā (no. XXXI) is only remote: The kakavin indeed tells about the conversion of the Man-Eater and the liberation of the captured kings, but for the rest it is different from any other version of the jātaka.<sup>1</sup>

The Sutasoma kakavin stands a little apart in its class by its marked religious character. Its hero, the bodhisattva Sutasoma, is not a hero of the sword and enters the battle-ground only for a short while, though that suffices for him to win a victory by his spiritual power. In the island of Bali, where Old-Javanese literature has been preserved and cultivated for centuries, the force of the Bhārata yuddha kakavino is considered to lie in its tragedy, that of the Rāmāyaṇa kakavin in its lofty morality and that of Sutasoma in its profoundness.

As the Balinese set great store by the didactic qualities in a kakavin, the Sutasoma ranks high in their appreciation. Indeed religious matters are frequently discussed in the work and two long passages<sup>2</sup> are devoted to teachings which the Bodhisattva imparts to creatures that have becom



his pupils and are about to enter upon the ascetic life. Such esoteric instructions are called *pavisik*<sup>3</sup> from *visik*. "to whisper"<sup>4</sup>.

Here I should like to discuss the first *pavisik*<sup>5</sup>, which has its place in a rather early stage of the poem. On his way to the Meru, where he is going to live as a recluse, prince Sutasoma acquires the company of the seer Keśava and wins three pupils. The first of these is a demon with an elephant's face, appropriately called Gajavaktra. He is possessed by Gaṇesa, but when he threatens to destroy Sutasoma and the prince subdues him with a miraculous weapon issued from his concentration, Gaṇesa withdraws from his person and Gajavaktra becomes Sutasoma's pupil.

Then a *nāga* blocks the way of Sutasoma and his newly won disciple. A fight between Gajavaktra and the *nāga* ensues and the *nāga* would have been burnt to ashes by the fire issuing from Gajavaktra had not the prince interfered. The *nāga* also becomes a follower of Sutasoma.

I need not tell you circumstantially how Sutasoma got his third pupil, for she is the tigress from the well-known Vyāghrī-jātaka. When she has drunk Sutasoma's blood, she comes to repent her deed under its influence and wishes that the Bodhisattva may be restored to life, and Indra fulfills that wish.

We shall see that especially this Vyāghrī-jātaka episode is relevant to the teaching which Sutasoma now imparts to his three pupils in order to prepare them for the ascetic life.

Before giving a survey of this teaching it may be well to mention a fundamental belief in the Javanese religion of that period and the Balinese religion up to the present day, viz. the identity of Buddha with Śiva and of each aspect of Buddha with a corresponding aspect of Śiva. Actually this belief has been illustrated by Kern as early as 1888, precisely with the help of the Sutasoma kakavin. He quoted some verses (139. 4d-6), in which the gods point out to Rudra that in reality he is one with Buddha. The identity is extended to the aspects of both gods: Akṣobhya is Īśvara, Ratnasambhava Brahmā, Amitābha Mahādeva and Amoghasiddhi Viṣṇu. It may be observed in passing that here also occur the words *bhinneka tunggal ika* "They are distinct, yet they are one", that have become the motto of the coat of arms of the Indonesian Republic, where to be sure they have got a new meaning.

The belief is that the Supreme God has two aspects: Buddha-hood (*Jinatva*) and Śiva-hood (*Śivatva*), though mpu Tantular even on this level gives priority to the Buddha aspect: *Vara-Buddha viśva*, he says "The excellent Buddha is all and everything".



The identity of the gods has a consequence for the practical side of religion: both the Buddhist and the Śaivite way are considered to lead to salvation. This is explicitly stated in the end of the pavisik we are going to discuss and moreover it is said there that the Buddhist and the Śaivite though each following his own way-must be acquainted with that of the other denomination (*pakṣa*), otherwise he will not be successful; as the poet says: "For the sage of the Buddhist denomination will fail, if he does not know about the way to Śiva-hood, which is the highest reality, and likewise the excellent sage who follows the yoga of Śiva-hood, if he does not know about the essence of Buddha-hood, which is the highest reality" (42.2).

This explains why Sutasoma, though his pupils evidently are to follow the Buddhist way, gives them an exposition of the Śaivite way as well.

In our text the goal of the Śaivite way is termed release (*mokṣa*) and this word is reserved to the Śaivites. We shall presently see that the Buddhists consistently use a different term for the ultimate goal. The Śaivite way is a course of six stages which we know from other texts-Indian as well as Javanese- as *ṣaḍ-aṅga-yoga*. The sequence of the stages here is *pratyāhāra*, *dhyaṇa*, *prāṇāyama*, *dhāraṇa*, *tarka*, *saṁādhi*. At the end of this course the yogin will obtain the eight perfections (*aṣṭaguṇa*), which the poet exemplifies thus: "He may become now visible, then invisible, have power over the world or assume the manifest form of Rudra". But the yogin is dissuaded from using these powers, as they will lead him astray from the path of release; they are in mpu Tantular's words "a pitfall to the pure mind". When the yogin obtains release he will become void (*śunya-rupa*) and understand absolute reality (*paramārtha-tattva*).

Now this teaching about the Śaivite way occupies canto 40 and is set like a wedge in between two parts of the exposition of the Buddhist doctrine, which is divided over cantos 38 and 39 and 41. Let us now pass this teaching in review.

Right in the beginning the disciples anticipate the central ideas of the master's teaching :

"For", they said, "various are the dispositions of the great yogins. Some, of pure character, have set their mind on release. Different are those that practise renunciation : to die is the way they prefer, of which the prince himself is proof, who perished and now has been exalted. In short in the opinion of Your Highness's servants the way of dying is superior to release". To this prince Sutasoma immediately agrees and he begins his teaching with what has already been styled "the way of dying" (*paratrā-mārga*).



My translation of the term may require some account, especially before an audience of eminent Sanskritists. If not only the members, but the compound as well might be acceptable Sanskrit, should not it be translated by "the way to the other world" instead of "the way of dying"? I think it should, if it were Sanskrit, but as the word, though composed of Sanskrit loans, is Old-Javanese, the case is different. In his book "Sanskrit in Indonesia" (1952, 360 sq.) Gonda has given ample evidence that Sanskrit words, when borrowed by Indonesian languages, may change their function in the sentence. Thus *paratra* may come to mean "to die" and from our context it is evident that by *paratra-mārga* is meant a way to salvation which implies complete readiness to die out of altruistic motives. By coincidence the other catchword in this doctrine shows a similar change in function. The man who has attained such preparedness to die is *tyāga*, "one who practises renunciation". The *tyāga* will not mind whether his sacrifice will bring him hardships, poverty, yea death. What matters only to him is the well-being of the world (*Jagat-dhita*).

The ultimate goal of *paratramārga* is styled beatitude (*niḥśreyasa*). On the way to that end, in the view of the Buddhists, religious practices of different kind, as worship, different forms of yoga, muttering of formulas, concentration, liberality, good deeds, the observance of vows including those of the Bhairavasi are only preliminary and leave the adept in the circle of rebirth. Renunciation is essential, but even that does not suffice by itself. The follower of the *paratramārga* should also have the right intention and the right insight at the hour of death. He should concentrate upon the absolute (*nirāśraya*), not on rebirth in heaven, for that would lead him astray from the *paratramārga*. How the perfect Buddhist should pass away is illustrated by the image of the Javanese dagger (*kris*) drawn from its sheath.

Then at the end of canto 39 follow statements that may sound enigmatic; the bhikṣu will die in the right way "when the three become fused with the distinct two; . . . he takes up his abode in non-being, stepping on the sun and the moon".

We shall see that these lines form a prelude to canto 41. This canto however will in itself not quite clear either. It deals with the divine esoteric knowledge of the yoga of non-duality (*saṁ hyaṁ Advaya-yoga-sandhi*). Here we learn that the syllables āṁ and āḥ are the sound of the breath in the throat, that sun and moon pervade the purified body, that the divine thought of non-duality (*Advaya-citta*) takes its seat in the mind. In this doctrine Buddha is the form attained by the yogin who has come to the end of his way, as such Buddha is said to be the son of Advaya as his father and Prajñāpāramitā as his mother.



It is now high time to call in the aid of other texts. Like the Indian *kavi mpu* Tantular no doubt used *śāstras* from different branches of learning when writing the episodes of his poem. Can we find back the sources he drew upon when writing these cantos ?

As to the comparison between Buddhist and *śaivite*, father Zoetmulder was no doubt right in the main when he pointed out to me that this is essentially the same as in the tale of *Bubhukṣa*. This tale has been preserved in Javanese-Balinese verses<sup>6</sup> and has been illustrated in reliefs on the Panataran temple, Eastern Java, dating from 1296 A.D.<sup>7</sup>). It has been made accessible in Dutch by Poerbatjaraka<sup>8</sup>. Poerbatjaraka's rendering has been quoted in extenso by Rassers in 1926 and through a translation of Rasser's paper is now also available in English. I give you the tale as far as it seems relevant to our subject.

Two brothers, who from their youth onward had been devoted to contemplation, became the pupils of a religious teacher and on that occasion got the names of *Gagañ Akiñ* ("Dry Stalk") and *Bubhukṣa*. After having finished their studies, they retired to mount Wilis, where they wanted to build a hermitage each for himself. Before starting on this work, however, *Bubhukṣa* first prepared a large quantity of palm-wine and when they burned down the jungle to clear their building site, he caught and killed a great number of animals and prepared them for his meat. Thus he continued when the building was done : he prepared palm-wine and set snares, eating all animals he caught, including men. *Ggañ Akiñ* on the contrary devoted himself completely to the spiritual exercises as taught by their guru and only ate pure food. Quite understandably the difference in the mode of living gave rise to long disputes between the two brothers, but neither could convince the other.

Now the Supreme God, *Bhaṭāra Guru*, wanted to find out whether the recluses had really become *tyāga* and therefore sent the white tiger *Kālaviyaya* to put them to the test. *Kālaviyaya* first went to *Gagañ Akiñ* and asked him for something to eat, adding that he only took human flesh. *Gagañ Akiñ* answered that by his ascetic life he had become too lean to be suitable meat for the tiger and advised him to ask his brother. *Bubhukṣa* first understood that *Kālaviyaya* wanted some of the meat and other eatables he had in store and was glad to have a guest at table. But when he heard that the tiger wanted nothing but human flesh, he was prepared to offer himself.

The tiger criticized *Bubhukṣa*'s eating everything indiscriminately, but *Bubhukṣa* replied that he did so with the object that his victims should be reborn in a better state ; therefore he would even eat men, if he caught any. He also asked the tiger to give him some time to check his snares, so that no being would be slowly tortured to death



in them. While giving his consent Kālavijaya wanted to put the recluse to the test and stealthily fastened a dwarf in one of the traps. Bubhukṣa took all creatures he found in the snares and ate them, including the dwarf. Then he purified, dressed and perfumed himself and offered himself to the tiger. Though Kālavijaya was already convinced of Bubhukṣa, being tyaga he put him furthermore to the test by dashing forward with claws stretched out and wide opened mouth, but the recluse awaited him nothing daunted. Now Kālavijaya gave up, made himself known as the envoy of Bhaṭṭāra Guru and invited Bubhukṣa to come to heaven riding on his back. Gagaṇ Akin was allowed to accompany his brother holding the tiger's tail. Bubhukṣa was given a place in Brahmā's heaven, while Gagaṇ Akiṇ also partook of all enjoyments of heaven, but only in a small proportion.

Bubhukṣa and Gagaṇ Akin are meant here as the prototypes of the Buddhist and the śaiva priest. In Bali traditionally the Buddhist priest is allowed to eat everything, while the diet of his śaivite colleague is subject to many restrictions.

It will be clear that the tale of Bubhukṣa and Sutasoma's teaching on the paratramārga are closely akin and no doubt hail from the same tradition, though the one cannot be considered the source of the other. I think it is not a mere coincidence that in both tales the willingness to give up one's own life for the sake of somebody else is exemplified by the hero sacrificing himself to a tiger. The parallelism however is not complete. On the one hand Tantular does not tell us anything about the difference between Buddhist and śaivite as to their diet; may be he did not think it relevant in the context. On the other hand the way of departing from this life and the state of beatitude are conceived of quite differently in the two texts.

According to Tantular the paratramārga is closely linked with the advayayoga, and this doctrine we also find in a text belonging to the class of writings called *tutur*<sup>9</sup>.

Now before going into the details of this passage I want to make some remarks on these theological Buddhist and Śaivite treatises, remarks which, I think, will be relevant to the conclusions about the sources of our Sutasoma text.

After Kats (1910), Sudarshana Devi Singhal (1957 and 1958) and Sharada Rani (1957 and 1961) had made several tuturs accessible. Hooykaas (1962) has shown that many of these texts have chapters in common with one or more others. Sometimes the same chapter occurs in literally the same form in more than one text, sometimes the form



subject-matter is the same. This situation is due to the custom of priests and literates to copy out chapters from different manuscripts in one bundle of palm-leaves. Often such a bundle later on was given a title of its own and started its career as a separate text. Therefore a tutur text which we have now before us under a special title, may as a whole be rather young, and it is doubtful whether it existed in that form and under that title in Tantular's time. Many of the component parts however may date far back.

The passage corresponding to Sutasoma's pavisik on advayayogasandhi is found in the Sañ hyañ Kamahāyānikan<sup>10</sup>. This is a Buddhist tutur edited by Kats in 1910. It is, as Wulff (1935) has shown, also a composite text. The passage was signalized by Haryati Soebadio in 1971<sup>11</sup>. She was interested in it, because it has a parallel in the Jñānasiddhānta<sup>21</sup>), where names of a śivite deities have been substituted for those from the Buddhist pantheon.

We may summarize the contents of the Sañ hyañ Kamahāyānikan passage as follows. Non-duality (*advaya*) is expressed by the bija's am and aḥ. In Old-Javaness and Balinese theology these two syllables are often designated by the term *rva bhineda* "the distinct two"<sup>12</sup>; the poet Tantular (Sutk. 39.4c) uses the synonym *rva pinasah*.

Am also stands for inhalation. When the yogin makes this pervade his body, the body will become shining like the sun (*sūrya-rūpa*), and this state is called *smṛti-surya* ("sun of meditation"). Aḥ on the other hand represents expiration. This makes the body shining like the moon (*candra-rūpa*) and produces the state of *śānta-candra* ("tranquil moon"). Now when these two, *smṛti-surya* and *śānta-candra*, have been fully developed, there arises knowledge of non-duality (*advaya-jñāna*) personified in the Divine Lady Prajñāpāramitā. From the union of Advaya as the father and Prajñāpāramitā as the mother the Lord Buddha is born and in this form he is said to be *Divarūpa*.

*Divarūpa* in one manuscript<sup>14</sup> is glossed as "always seen as clear as daylight during yoga", but as Tantular has *divāṅga* as a synonym, I think Dr. K. Chattopadhyay was right when he suggested that this form has developed from Pali *dibbarūpa*, "of divine form". There are indeed a few peculiarities in the languages, literature and civilization of Java and Bali that can be best accounted for by supposing borrowing from Pali, Pali literature and Pali Buddhism<sup>15</sup>). In the parallel Śaivite text in the Jñānasiddhānta this god is called *Parañjyotirūpa* and nevertheless he is also said to be "always as clear as daylight".

The close correspondence between this passage of the Sañ hyañ Kamahāyānikan and Sutasoma's teaching on advayayogasandhi is obvious.



Most of the essential elements we find in both texts and as a rule the tutur explains the poet's more hinting way of expression.

I summarize the chief points.

(1) *Aṃ aḥ* stands for non-duality.

and (2) for inhalation and exhalation.

(3) Meditation on inhalation and exhalation produces the light of sun and moon respectively.

(4) When this meditation has become perfect, Prajñāpāramitā, who is *advayajñāna*, or *advayacitta* as the poet says, appears.

(5) From Advaya and Prajñāpāramitā Buddha Divarūpa is born.

Only for the "three" that according to Sutasoma should "become fused with the distinct two" the Saṅhya Kamahāyanikan does not offer an explanation, but in this case the Śaivite parallel in the Jñānasiddhānta proves helpful. As we have seen that "the distinct two" stand for advaya, we may surmise that the expression "the three" refers to *advayajñāna* or Prajñāpāramitā. Now in the Śaivite version the place of this deity is taken by the Divine Knowledge of the Syllable Om (Saṅhya Praṇavajñāna), also called *Vāgīśvarī* or *Pranava-Tridevi*. The parallelism between Buddhist and Śaivite teachings in tutur literature is so strong that we may safely use data from the one category for the explanation of the other<sup>16</sup>). So we may take it that *advayajñāna* may be expressed by the syllable *om*, and this, as consisting of the *bīja*'s *aṃ*, *um*, *maṃ*, is called "the unified three" (*tri tinungalakēn*)<sup>17</sup>. Indeed we find the fusion of the unified three and the distinct two recommended as a spiritual exercise on the approach of death. Tantular's cryptic line therefore appears to express the meeting of *advaya* and *advayajñāna*.

I think it very probable that Tantular used the passage which we have found in the Saṅhya Kamahāyanikan as a source, though perhaps he did not know it as a part of the Saṅhya Kamahāyanikan.

For his description of *śaḍaṅgayoga* as the Śaivite way he obviously drew on the Śaivite tutur tradition. One MS of the Saṅhya Kamahāyanikan also deals with this course, but it gives the same sequence as the Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad (6, 18). Tantular's sequence is the same as the one we find in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*<sup>18</sup>, the *Gaṇapatitattva*<sup>19</sup>, the *Jñānasiddhānta*<sup>20</sup> and the *Tutur Kamokṣan*<sup>21</sup> and which has its oldest representative in the *Amṛtanādopaniṣad*<sup>22</sup>. Tantular



has a curious feature in common with the four tuturs just mentioned : reflection (*tarka*), the fifth stage in the course is compared with *ākāśa* on account of its clearness, but all texts take care to state that this does not imply that reflection would produce sound, though sound (*śabda*) is inherent in *ākāśa*.

After the analysis let us now try to state the religious meaning of this teaching of Sutasoma as a whole. Its aim explicitly is to initiate disciples in the Buddhist way to beatitude, which is presented as a counterpart of the Śaivite way to release. This Buddhist way for which the poet has an apparent preference has a moral aspect as *paratramārga* and a spiritual one as *advayayoga*. One might have one's doubts whether these two are indeed aspects of one way, and these doubts are strengthened, as we find that probably the poet had to draw upon a different source for each of them. But the poet interweaves the two aspects in such a way, that there is no doubt that, to him at least, they formed a harmonious whole.

The moral aspect with its ideals of renunciation and altruism needs little comment. It is evident that the bloody self-sacrifice should be understood as a dramatized image of the required attitude.

In the spiritual aspect, the *advayayoga*, the birth of the Buddha-characterized by the epithet *Divāṅga*- has the meaning of the full realization of Buddhahood -that is enlightenment- by the yogin. This is clear from the verse immediately following the one where the arising of Buddha *Divāṅga* is mentioned: "For he is neither Śiva, nor Maheśvara, nor Brahmā, nor Keśava, nor can the lord Rudra be pointed out, it is impossible to find him in the yogin. Indeed the perfect lord of yogins becomes Buddha in highest reality, jubilant, free from doubt, both gross and subtle, most important in the world" (41,3).

The description of the course of *advayayoga* in the tutur as well as in the kakavin begins with the syllables *aṃ* and *aḥ*, which stand for the ultimate reality (*advaya*) as well as for ingoing and outgoing breath. Though Tantular reserves the term *prāṇāyāma* for the Śaivite way, the two syllables no doubt also refer to exercises in the control of respiration.

The perfection of these exercises, visualized as the light of sun and moon, calls forth the knowledge of non-duality (*advaya-jñāna*) or *Prajñāpāramitā*, that is the perfection of wisdom. The epithets given to *advayajñāna* by the tutur are important ; "The knowledge without doubts, steadfast, without form, that is called the Divine Knowledge of Non-Duality by name". And Tantular says : "The Divine Thought of Non-Duality takes its firm seat in the resolved mind".



This is the direct and full realization of the ultimate in itself, and, while it is in highest reality one with the ultimate, it may well be called the mother of the Buddha, for it is the immediate cause of enlightenment.

This teaching is referred to in several other places in the kakavin. It also sheds light upon its introductory verses (*maṅgala*).

The maṅgalas of the kakavins in general have been studied by Zoetmulder (1957, 64-69). He has shown that in a maṅgala as a rule a god is worshipped as the god of beauty, while the kavi is a yogin, who wants to become one with the god.

In the Sutasoma Kakavin the god worshipped is Bajrajñāna. Tantular, like many other kavis, says that he himself is no perfect poet : *Dūra nvañ siddhakavya*, "I am far from being a perfect poet". But the ideal poet is at the same time perfect lord of yogins (*siddhayogīśvara*, the same term we met with in the pavisika) and as such is one with the Lord Buddha.

These are the sragdharās of the maṅgala.

*Śrī Bajrajñāna śūnyātmaka parama sirānindya riñ rāt viśeṣa |*  
*lālā śuddha pratiṣṭheñ hṛdaya jayajayāñkēn mahāsvargaloka |*  
*okacchattreñ śarīrāñhuripi sahana niñ bhūr bhuvah svaḥ prakīrṇa |*  
*sākṣāt candrārka pūrṇādbhutari vijil irān sañka riñ bodhicitta ||*  
*Siñgiḥ yan siddhayogīśvara vékas ira sañ sātmya lāvan Bhaṭāra |*  
*sarvajñāmūrti śūnyāganal alit inucap muṣṭi niñ dharmatattva |*

That is

"The glorious Bajrajñāna is void, he is the highest, flawless in all the world, independent, pure, victoriously seated in the heart as well as in the great heaven, sovereign ruler over the body, giving life to the whole of earth, atmosphere and heaven, shining like moon and sun in their fulness, wonderful when he comes forth from the thought of enlightenment. Indeed the perfect lord of yogins is the most excellent form of the man who is one with the Lord, he is omniscient and appears both in gross and subtle form, he is called the non plus ultra of the essence of the Doctrine".

There are several points of agreement between this maṅgala and the pavisik. Here as in the pavisik it is a siddhayogīśvara who becomes a Buddha. This Buddha comes forth from the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), as in the pavisik he is born from the thought of non-duality (*advayacitta*). When coming forth from the thought of enlightenment the Buddha is said to be "shining like the moon and the sun in their fulness",



and, after having read the pavisik, we shall not consider this expression mere flowery speech, but a technical term denoting a definite stage in advayayoga. And even as in the pavisik the siddhayogiśvara is said to be both gross and subtle.

Indeed the maṅgala mentions one aspect which the pavisik does not : the Buddha has also a cosmic function, he has his royal throne not only in the heart, but also in heaven, he does not only reign over the body, but also inspires life in the cosmos.

I have not tried so far to connect the doctrine we found in the Sutasoma Kakavin with any doctrine in the Indian subcontinent.

I am convinced that other members in this Conference are more qualified for doing so than I am. I would only point to one verse from the Advayavajra-saṃgraha which was quoted by S.B.Dasgupta (1958,78). It offers an etymology for the name Vajrasattva, which holds good also for Vajrajñāna.

*vajreṇa śūnyatā prokta sattvena jñānamātratā |  
tādātmyam anayoḥ siddham vajrasattvasvabhāvataḥ ||*

“By vajra is meant śūnyatā, and by sattva is implied pure knowledge ; the identity of the two follows from the nature of Vajrasattva”.

It appears that the doctrine Sutasoma has imparted to his disciples Gajavaktra, the nāga and the tigress, stands central in the kakavin and so he has fully initiated them and now tells them to find a suitable place to put the teaching into practice :

*Sampun mateki ya kinon ira bhikṣva vikva |  
yankṣetra sindhu giri soṅgvanan iñ mayoga |  
ñhiñ tan pakarvana tapovana hayva mañkā |  
yan mañkaneki gati sañ viku Bauddhapakṣa ||*

“Then they were instructed to lead the life of recluses. A cremation-ground, the board of a river, a mountain were fit places for their practising yoga, but the hermitage should by no means be shared with another recluse. This is the way of the recluse of the Buddhist denomination”.



## ABBREVIATIONS AND TEXT-EDITIONS

|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Āryaśūra | The Jātaka-Māla. Stories of Buddha's Former Incarnations otherwise entitled Bodhisattva-Ava-dāna-Mālā by Ārya-Śūra, ed. Hendrik Kern, Cambridge, Mass. 1891. Reprints.                                  |
| BKI      | Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indie).                                                                                                                                    |
| Jātaka   | The Jātaka together with its commentary being tales of the anterior births of Gotāma Buddha. ed. V. Fausboll. Index by Dines Anderson. 7 vols. London 1877-1897, Reprints.                              |
| Kawl     | Koninklijke (Nederlandse) Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde.                                                                                                                                 |
| KBW      | H.N. van der Tuuk. Kawi-Balinesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek. Batavia, 1897-1912. 4 vols.                                                                                                                 |
| MaitrU.  | The Maitrāyaṇiya Upaniṣad, A critical essay with text, translation and commentary by J.A.B. van Buitenen. 's-Gravenhage 1962. Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae VI.                                       |
| Sut. K.  | Tantular. Puruṣāda śānta or Sutasoma kakavin. "Sutasoma" Ditulis dengan huruf Bali dan. Latin. Diberi arti dengan bahasa Bali dan bahasa Indonesia olek I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, Denpasar, 1959. 22 vols. |
| SHK      | Śaṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan. See Kats 1910.                                                                                                                                                                  |
| ViPur.   | Śrīśrī-Viṣṇupurāṇ mūl ślok aur Hindi-anuvāda-sahit. Anuvādak Śrī Munilāl Gupta. Gorakhpur. Many printings.                                                                                              |
| Yoga Up. | The Yoga Upanishads with the commentary of Sri Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin, ed. A. Mahadeva Sastri. Adyar 1920.                                                                                              |



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- hage. Gedenkschrift uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 75-jarig bestaan. 's-Gravenhage. pp. 222-253. English translation in W.N. Rassers, Pañji, the Culture Hero. A structural study of religion in Java. Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Translation Series 3. The Hague 1959. pp. 63-91.
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## NOTES

1. Cf. Ensink 1967. 10ff.
2. 38.1—42.4 and 145.1—147.5.
3. I first learned this term from I Gusti Ngurah Ktut Sangka of Krambitan, Bali ; Cf. Juynboll 1907-1911, 2318 (Cod. 5070 fol. 5).
4. *visik* used in the sense of “imparting esoteric teaching” Sut. K. 33.5 cd, 6a *tan varnan ri vuvus niréki nṛpa-putra mamisiki ri sañ mahāsura / jñānānusrṃti śāsanéki pavarah nira ya sapavarah niñ āgama // Byātītan ri huvus niramisiki sañ Gajamukha ri katatvan iñ dadi /*  
  
Cf. KBW 3.546 b, s.v. *visik*. The term is also used by Moslim mystics in Java ; cf. Schrieke 1916-70.  
For an esoteric teaching being whispered cf. ViPur 3.7.14ab.
5. Text and translation will be published elsewhere.
6. Pigeaud 1967-1970. 1. ££ 13.000 and 13.010.
7. Van Stein Callenfels—Poerbatjaraka 1919.360.
8. Van Stein Callenfels—Poerbatjaraka 1919.351-358.
9. On the meaning of this term see Soebadio 1971.3.
10. SHK p. 47 ff.
11. Soebadio 1971.60.
12. Soebadio 1971.12 f.
13. Goris 1926.59 f. on *rva bhineda* in Balinese medical lore Weck 1937, 39-52.
14. Kats’s MS C. Kats 1910.48, note 6.
15. *vikū* as a synonym of *bhikṣu* ; the frequent use of the name *Poruṣāda* in Sutk ; some features in the tale of Sutasoma (cf. Ensink 1967.59, notes 3 and 61, note 30a) and the term *patarāṇa* for the flat cushion of the Balinese Baudhdha priest.



16. On the identity of Sarasvati (Vāgiśvari) with Prajñāpāramitā.  
Hooykaas 1964. 31 f.
17. Goris 1926. 123 f.
18. Sudarshana Devi 1957. vss. 53-59.
19. Sudarshana Devi Singhal 1958. vss. 3-9.
20. Soebadio 1971. chapt. 15.
21. This text is not yet edited. See Pigeaud 1967-1970. 2. Lor. 10.258 ;  
cf. Hooykaas 1962. 315 f.
22. Vas. 5-16. Yoga Up. pp. 14-18 ; cf. Deussen 1897.651 ff. This  
Upaniṣad is also entitled Amṛtabindūpaniṣad.



## THE ESOTERIC DOCTRINE OF THE MAHĀ-YĀNA- ŚRADDHOTPĀDA-ŚĀSTRA, AN AŚVAGHOṢA APOCRYPHA

*By Dr. Biswanath Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph.D.*

The Sanskrit text of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra is said to have existed about the end of the 8th century A. D. But neither the original nor any copy of the archetype has been brought to light as yet.

This text has been ascribed by Chinese tradition to Aśvaghōṣa, the celebrated author of two mahā-kāvya, viz.; the Buddha-carita and the Saundara-Nanda, and two dramas, viz., the Sāriputra-prakarana and the Rāṣṭrapāla-nāṭaka, But this attribution cannot be verified in the absence of the text itself. There is also no colophon to the Chinese versions by Paramārtha and Śikṣānanda to clarify the dubious issue. Further, the doctrinal position of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra between the Mādhyamika Śūnya-vāda and the Yogācāra Vijñāna-vāda is later than that of Aśvaghōṣa [circa 100 A. D.] who belonged to some Mahā-sāṅghika-sect which flourished in the transitional period between the late Hina-yāna and the early Mahā-yāna. The Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra may thus be said to have been composed during the period between 250 and 300 A.D.

However, the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra is known only through its two Chinese translations by Paramārtha [500-569 A.D.] and Śikṣānanda [652-710 A.D.] who followed two textual recensions differing in some minor points only. Paramārtha's version was retranslated into English by Timothy Richard. Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore consulted this retranslation. Śikṣānanda's version was rendered into English by Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki.

Now, the purport of the present research paper is to explain the central theme of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra on the basis of the two English renderings.

Thus the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra is a work on the theory and practice of Sukhāvati mysticism. It is professedly an exposition of some such Buddhist Sūtra text as deals with the doctrine of Amitābha



or Āmitāyus Buddha and his Buddha-kṣetra Sukhāvati... probably the Āmitāyus sūtra or Sukhāvati-vyūha.

According to this system the Highest Absolute or Being ["das höchste Sein"] is Bhūta-tathatā or simply Tathatā ["Soheit" = True Suchness or Suchness ... the Gesetzmässigkeit of the World]: This Suchness is nitya [i. e., both anādi and ananta], avikārin, deśa-kālādy-anālīṅgita and avidyā-*parāmṛṣṭa*. It is free from any citta-vikriyā caused by the innate powers of āvarana and vikṣepa of avidyā. It is atindriya, hetupratyaya-hina and kartṛ-karma-vaktṛ-vācyatvādi-dvaita-rahita. It is abuddhi-nirgrāhya, anirvācyā-sva-rūpa and koṭi-dvaya-vinirmukta tṛtiya-koṭi. It is siddha (being)—not sādhyā (becoming).

Its eternal nature is replete with good qualities which are perpetually fixed in number. At its very core lies the infinite stock of incalculable pāramitās like prajñā, karuṇā, etc. It is called nirvāṇa, the state of eternal peace and immeasurable and ineffable joy. It is not essentially different from its nitya-dharmas.

It is thus potentially positive in character—not merely negative [vyāvahārika-sattā-rahita catuṣ-koṭi-vinirmukta-Sūnya].

The nirupādhika Suchness assumes its innate power of līlā and condescends to the avidyopahita and sopādhika Tathāgata-garbha stage.

Now, avidyā or illusion is anādi but sātā [Tathatā-jñānamātra-nāśyā]. It causes all kinds of noumenal change in the surrounding world of relativity. The multiplicity of all forms of conditioned existence is illusory (avidyā-vilasita). The Kāma-loka (or Kāma-dhātu), Rūpa-loka (or Rūpa-dhātu) and Arūpa-loka (or Arūpa-dhātu) are all products of illusion. The illusory world is kṣaṇika and vyavahāra-daśāmātra-sthitika. The vicious cycle of births and deaths (saṃsāra) is due to illusion. The notions of time and space are false. All sorts of activity [karman] and their retribution [phala] are unreal. The ideas of ego and possession [aham and mama] are due to ignorance. The distinction of a jīva from another is due to the differing degrees of the defiling dross of illusion. In brief, avidyā enrobes the original pure nature (śuddha cid-aṃsa) of all living beings and phenomena. This śuddha cid-aṃsa corresponds with the sattvadhātu of Sāramati's Uttara-tantra and Dharma-dhātva-viśeṣatā-śāstra.

However, despite the diversity of the delusive "Vorstellung" the encased Suchness is one and indivisible.

Suchness is thus both immanent and transcendent.



This Suchness is equated to the Dharma-kāya of the Tri-kāya-vāda and the Absolute Buddha of the Tri-ratna-vāda.

Below this Suchness are ranked the Tathāgata (=the historical Buddha), Buddhas of all time and clime and Bodhisattvas. The Tathāgata and the Buddhas are incarnations of the sublime Suchness, while the Bodhisattvas are inspired saints not yet free from some element of avidyā. The six gatis are also below the highest Suchness.

The True Suchness is full of infinite mercy (karuṇā) to all jīvas in bondage. The inexhaustible store of blessings of the compassionate Suchness is revealed to the jīvas only through the loving influences of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas,

Thus the deliverance from the illusory bondage (nirvāṇa) is the union of the immanent suddha cid-aṃsa (Microcosm) with the transcendental Suchness (Macrocosm) attainable through reasoned faith (śraddhā) in the philosophy of Tathatā and a gradual process of meditation on Tathatā. An ardent surrender (śaraṇāgati) unto the benevolent (bhūtānukampin) Saviour is essential to nirvāṇa. Tathatā thus plays the role of the World Redeemer.

With its Messiasglaube and idea of universal salvation the subtle philosophy of Tathatā is thus marked by a philanthropic Weltanschauung.

This philosophy claims a higher status than the Mādhyamika-mata of transcendental Śūnya, Pratyeka-Buddha-yāna (Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika ?) Srāvaka-yāna and ninetyfive classes of heretics.

Therefore, the philosophy of Tathatā records an early form of the Yogācāra Vijñāna-vāda.

Lastly, this Mahā-yāna monism of the Mahā-yāna-sraddhotpāda-śāstra is influenced by the Hinduistic philosophy of abhinnanimittopādāna-kāraṇa kūtastha Para-Brahman of the Upaniṣads. The theory of Tathāgata and all other Buddhas as perfect incarnations of Tathatā is also influenced by the Hinduistic avatāra-vāda.



## INDIAN ATOMISM IN SANSKRIT WORKS.

*Dr. J.C. Sikdar*

### INTRODUCTION

The thought on Indian Atomism as embodied in Sanskrit works reflects a stage of the emergence and development of Indian philosophy of a period in the field of metaphysical knowledge, when the daring flight of imagination of speculative human mind with logical nicety went on to search out the basic principle of destruction and origination (or dissolution and creation) of the material universe. In this speculation the Sāṃkhya-Yoga, Vaiśeṣika, Mimāṃsaka, Bauddha, Vedānta and Jaina systems of thought have attacked the problem from their respective angles of vision and made attempts at the explanation and interpretation of the root cause of Atomism. The Cārvākas<sup>1</sup> admitted four or five elements of Matter (Bhūtas) as the basis of creation, having a support for Atomism.

The Sāṃkhya-Yoga philosophy<sup>2</sup> has conceived the idea of atom as produced from tanmātra (infra-atomic potential) by advocating Prakṛti-vāda (Doctrine of Primordial Matter) as the fundamental cause of the material universe. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika<sup>3</sup> has propounded the atomic theory on the basis of avayava (constituent element) and avayavin (composite whole), so its Atomism is based on Sthiratvavāda (Doctrine of Permanence) and avayavavāda (Doctrine of constituent elements), while Atomism of the Buddhist schools<sup>4</sup> of thought like the Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika is supported on kṣaṇikavāda (Doctrine of momentariness), as they are the advocates of this doctrine. The Mimāṃsakas<sup>5</sup> like Kumārila and Prabhākara and the Vedāntin Madhva<sup>6</sup> accepted Atomism on the basis of the atomic theory of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. The Vijñānavādin Buddhists<sup>7</sup> and the Brahmayādin Vedāntins like Ācārya Śaṅkara<sup>8</sup>, Ācārya Rāmānuja<sup>9</sup> and others did not admit this Atomism. The Buddhist work 'Vijñaptimātrasiddhi'<sup>10</sup> rejected the atomic theory of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system on the ground of constituent parts of atom (avayavas of paramānu), while the Vedāntin Ācārya Śaṅkara<sup>11</sup> refuted Atomism of the Vaiśeṣika by following the foot-steps of the Vijñānavādin Buddhists under the influence of the Sāṃkhya doctrine of Prakṛti, budhi (intellect), tanmātra



(infra-atomic potential), etc. The Jaina philosophy has conceived the atomic theory on the basis of destruction and origination of the material world from the standpoint of transformation taking place in it due to external and internal causes and made a synthetic approach to the problem of the atomic theory from the aspects of substance, space (locus), time and condition by taking into consideration all the concepts of atom of other Indian systems of thought.

The seed of Atomism of the Jainas is embodied in the Jaina Āgamas<sup>12</sup>. Umāsvāti had sown the metaphysical aspect of it in his Sanskrit work 'Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra'<sup>13</sup> on the basis of the āgamic conception of Atomism. Siddhasena Ganin<sup>14</sup>, Acārya Pūjyapāda<sup>15</sup>, Akalaṅka<sup>16</sup> Vidyānanda,<sup>17</sup> Haribhadra Sūri,<sup>18</sup> Vinayavijaya<sup>19</sup> and other later Jainācāryas gradually developed it on more scientific basis. They organized the entire system of disputes on ārambhavāda (Doctrine of Intransitive Causation) of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Kṣanika-paramānuvāda (Doctrine of momentary atom) of the Buddhists and those of other Indian schools of thought in their respective Sanskrit works.

The Jaina thinkers have retained the Buddhist tradition of Skandha (molecule), while discarding the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view of avayava-avayavivāda (Doctrine of constituent part and composite whole) in formulating their concept of paramāṇu (ultimate atom). It appears to have originated from the most primitive ideas about matter (pudgala). In Jaina philosophy pudgala (matter) is conceived as an eternal substance undertermined from the point of view of transformation of its quantity and quality. Material particles may combine into one substance and one material substance may disintegrate into many. There is atom-tradition side by side with ātmā-tradition, i.e. a sort of dualism of matter and spirit is advocated in Jaina metaphysics. Every material entity of the cosmic universe (Loka) is constituted of atoms.

The Indian Philosophical schools which have invented, developed and adopted the atomic theory by their speculations may thus be placed mainly in three groups. The first group is represented by Jaina philosophy, the second one by the Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya systems of thought and the bhāṣya (commentary) on the latter by Vātsyāyana, and the Vaibhāṣikas and Sautrāntikas of the Buddhist school and the last phase of Indian Atomism is represented by Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya which is the oldest systematic exposition of the Viśeṣika-Nyāya philosophy and generally adopted by the combined Vaiśeṣika-Nyāya philosophy. As pointed out before, the Mimāṃsakas<sup>20</sup> and the Vedāntin Madhva<sup>21</sup> accepted the atomic theory on the basis of the Vaiśeṣika conception of it, while the Sāṃkhya-Yoga conceived the idea of atom as generated from tanmātra (infra-atomic potential).



It appears that the speculation on Indian Atomism marks a stage of emergence and development of subtle thought in the field of Indian philosophy in different ages. It has developed from simpler concept by gradual modifications of scientific thoughts accumulated in successive ages. Thus it has undergone gradual changes with the passage of time.

### CONCEPTION OF INDIAN ATOMISM IN SANSKRIT WORKS OF DIFFERENT INDIAN SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika holds the view that paramānu is the ultimate cause of the material world (tadantyaṁ Kāraṇam)<sup>22</sup>, but not the effect (kārya) ; it is the root-cause of the elements of matter. Jaina philosophy maintains that paramānu is both cause (kāraṇa) and effect (Kārya)<sup>23</sup> of the material world from the standpoint of transformation which takes place in the elements of matter due to external and internal causes. The Jaina conception of paramānu as cause (Kāraṇa) and effect (Kārya) is parallel to the conception of energy and consequence of energy of the physical sciences<sup>24</sup>. In the Sāṃkhya-Yoga philosophy the material existence of paramānu is accepted but not as the unit of matter and the ultimate cause of the material universe as it is conceived in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Jaina systems of thought. It is a produced entity (janya padārtha) but not an eternal entity. It is evolved out of the first tanmātra (infra-atomic potential<sup>25</sup>). A paramānu represents the smallest homogeneous part of any substance. As it is not partless, so it is divisible<sup>26</sup>. This is the radical difference between the atomicity of Matter of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga and the atomocity of Matter of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Jaina philosophies as embodied in their Sanskrit works.

According to the Jainas, paramānu is ekānta (discrete and beginningless<sup>27</sup>, while a skandha (molecule) is not a single unit and beginningless. A paramānu is in Saṃyoga (combination) and it is always undergoing change from the points of view of substance, locus, time and condition<sup>28</sup>. Paramānus are infinite in number with regard to substance, a paramānu is the finest particle of matter from the point of view of locus or field ; it is momentary from that of time and its capacity of quality is changing from the standpoint of condition.<sup>29</sup>

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika conceives the indivisibility of paramānu<sup>30</sup>, while the Buddhists<sup>31</sup>—the Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas—maintain the divisibility of paramānu (i.e. saṃghātaparamānu) which consists of, at least, eight parts of elements (aṣṭadravyaka)<sup>32</sup> of rūpā (matter). Jaina philosophy holds the view that Sūkṣma paramānu is indivisible but Vyavahāra paramānu<sup>33</sup> and the four qualities of paramānu, viz. colour, taste, smell and touch, have infinite divisions<sup>34</sup>. This Jaina conception



suggests divisibility of paramāṇu without limit like the atom of the physical sciences. Really speaking, guṇas (qualities) of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, viz. rūpa (colour), rasa (taste), gandha (smell) and sparśa (touch) are paramāṇus (atoms) of the Buddhists<sup>35</sup>, i.e. the atoms of quality. Dravyaparamāṇu (material atom) of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika corresponds to Saṃghātaparamāṇu<sup>36</sup> of the Buddhists, which is divisible by intellect. It can be compared with pañcīkarana of the three guṇas (qualities) of the Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya philosophy<sup>37</sup>, Saṃghātaparamāṇu<sup>38</sup> of the Buddhists is avinirbhāgin or-bhoga (indistinguishable) from the point of view of Vyavahāra (modal standpoint), while paramāṇu of the Jains is anantabhāga (infiniteth part) of paramāṇu of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika<sup>39</sup>. The doctrine of permanence had to be refuted by the Buddhists, so their concept of paramāṇu is that it is divisible by intellect. The Jaina atomic theory comes nearer to the Buddhist concept of atom from the modal point of view, for, according to Jaina metaphysics, paramāṇu is eternal from the substantial standpoint, while it is non-eternal from the modal point of view<sup>40</sup>. It is of one class like the energy of matter of the physical sciences. By convention it may be compared with the aṇu of the Buddhists which is conventionally called atom (aṇu), as there are stated to be earth-atom, water-atom, air-atom, etc. But they are forces in the Buddhist convention. Rūpa (colour), rasa (taste), gandha (smell) and sparśa (touch) of Pudgala (Matter) of the Jains compares well with the Buddhists' guṇas-dharmas (qualities-elements) like rūpa (colour), rasa (taste), etc. i.e. atom of colour, atom of taste, etc.

Paramāṇu of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika<sup>41</sup> is the pūrvaparyāya (previous state or mode) of its own category and also the Vijātiya-Sahakārin nimittakāraṇa (assisting instrumental cause of different kind), paramāṇu of Jaina philosophy is beginningless, eternal and non-eternal from the points of view of substance and mode respectively, while paramāṇu of the Buddhists is non-permanent, as the Buddhist philosophy holds the view that every entity is evanescent according to its doctrine of momentariness. Paramāṇu of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga also is non-permanent (anitya), as it is janyapadārtha (evolved entity), whereas paramāṇu of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika is beginningless (anādi) and permanent (nitya)<sup>42</sup> like paramāṇu of Jaina metaphysics, but it is to be noted that paramāṇu of the latter is also non-permanent (anitya) from the modal point of view.

According to Jaina philosophy all sūkṣma paramāṇus are abhedya (impassable), acchedya (uncuttable) avibhājya (indivisible), adāhya (noncombustible) and agrahyā (non-receivable)<sup>43</sup>, while paramāṇu of the Buddhists appears to be bhedya or vibhājya (passable or divisible), for the Buddhists philosophy advocates the theory of primary and secondary elements of matter<sup>44</sup>. Paramāṇus of the secondary elements of matter



mean varṇa (colour-atom), rasa (taste-atom), gandha (smell-atom) and sparśa (touch-atom), i.e. the Buddhists conceived guṇa (quality) as paramāṇu and made it distinct from citta (mind), because the entire Buddhist system of thought accepts rūpa (matter) into two divisions, viz. primary and secondary elements. That is to say, they represent, dravya (substance) and guṇa (quality) of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. As pointed, guṇas of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika are made to be paramāṇus of the Buddhists, while guṇas of the Jainas divide paramāṇus. In the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy paramāṇu is accepted as fine and indivisible, but it appears to be gross when compared with paramāṇu of Jaina metaphysics. This school of thought conceives paramāṇu as finest and indivisible i.e., Śūkṣma paramāṇu is indivisible, but Vyavahāra paramāṇu<sup>45</sup> which can be equated with atom of the physical sciences is divisible. This is the basic difference between these two atomic theories. The Jain conception of the nature of paramāṇu is by all means different from that of the nature of paramāṇu of ārambhavāda (Doctrine of Intransitive Causation) of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. According to Jaina metaphysics, there are stated to be infinite paramāṇus, but there does not exist any radical difference among them like pṛthivī-paramāṇu (earth-atom), ap-paramāṇu (water-atom), teja-paramāṇu (fire-atom) and Vāyu-paramāṇu (air-atom) of the Vaiśeṣika<sup>46</sup>. A paramāṇu of Jaina philosophy can assume any form in accordance with the causal condition. The paramāṇu (ultimate atom) which underwent change into the form of earth can undergo transformation into the forms of water, fire, etc., on the alteration of the materials. That is to say, there is no class-distinction among paramāṇus conceived in Jaina metaphysics<sup>47</sup>. A paramāṇu is endowed with one colour, one taste, one smell and two touches and it is experienced by the mark of its effect (karyalinga)<sup>48</sup>. If a paramāṇu is endowed with one colour, it may be black, or blue, or red, or Yellow, or white; if it is possessed of one smell, it may have pleasant smell or unpleasant smell; if it is endowed with one taste it may have bitter taste, or sour taste or astringent taste, or sweet taste; if it is possessed of two touches, it may be cold and cohesive, or cold and dry, or warm and cohesive, or warm and dry<sup>49</sup>. The existence of paramāṇu can be inferred on observation of their collective effect. Even its properties are inferred on observation of the basic properties of pudgala (matter). Hence it is inferable by its effect for the persons having common knowledge<sup>50</sup>. In the same voice of Jaina metaphysics, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika<sup>51</sup> and the physical sciences also account for the existence of atoms in this manner. "Individual atomic events are not observed directly, though their consequences may be and hence greater reliance must be placed on logical inference and methodology than in most other branches of science<sup>52</sup>, ! "Many of the experimental Verifications of atomic properties depend on observations of the properties of matter on a large scale. Thus the study of the thermody-



namics and the statistical behaviour of large numbers of atoms, which provides a connection between atomic attributes and the gross properties of matter, is very important' !<sup>53</sup>

Jaina philosophy maintains that the capacities-colour, taste, smell and touch, exist as equal in each and every paramāṇu and can change into any form according to cause. Even though they are equal in all paramāṇus, the Variousness of their transformation occurs because of the difference of materials. Similarly, according to the Jain view, Śkandha (molecule) formed by the combination of paramāṇus is not any new material substance as it is conceived in the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. It is only one particular form out of the aggregation of paramāṇus.

In the Vaiśeṣika view paramāṇus are Kūṭasthanitya (absolutely permanent)<sup>54</sup> and this Kūṭasthanityatā (absolute permanence) is proved by all means by maintaining the view that the produced and destroyed substances or quality and action (karma) are different from one another. But Jain metaphysics admits parināminityatā (permanence-inchange) of paramāṇus like the Sāṃkhya by rejecting Kūṭasthanityatā of paramāṇus of the Vaiśeṣika. It conceives all paramāṇus as permanent in their respective individual nature and accounts for their parināminityatā by accepting skandha (molecule), guna (quality) and paryāya (mode)<sup>55</sup> = Karma (action) as being produced as a result of transformation of paramāṇus<sup>59</sup>. Thus skandha is accepted as somehow non-different as well as different from them.

Jaina philosophy explains all gross and fine material creations (products) on the basis of the capacity of transformation of paramāṇus<sup>57</sup> and their combination and dissociation, just as the Sāṃkhya accounts for the production of the multiforms of the gross and fine material entities of the universe on the ground of differentiated combination of guṇas (qualities) — Sattva (essence), rajas (energy) and tamas (inertia or mass) from the Prakṛti-one Primordial Matter and its capacity of transformation.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy stops by conceiving paramāṇu as the sixth part (or division) of rajakaṇa (mote) perceived in the sunrays<sup>58</sup> whereas Jaina metaphysics accepts one aṇu or paramāṇu also as skandha (molecule) of infinite sukṣmaparamāṇus (finest ultimate atoms)<sup>59</sup>. It explains that infinite paramāṇus and infinite skandhas also can exist in a subtle form in one point of space, in which one paramāṇu exists, by virtue of its capacity of sankoca (Contraction or capacity of becoming fine)<sup>60</sup>, e.g. the combination of the atoms of mercury and gold in a ratio 1 : 100 Karshas.<sup>61</sup> On this ground paramāṇu is infinite in number also. It should be noted that it is anardha (without half part), amadhya



(without interior part) and apradeśa (without having part)<sup>62</sup> i.e. devoid of void from the point of view of kṣetra (locus or field). It has no beginning, nor end, nor middle (nor interior). It is devoid of length, breadth and depth ; because of this fineness it is itself beginning : it is itself middle, it is itself end<sup>63</sup>. Its fineness compares well with the fineness of the Prakṛti of the Sāṅkhya. The difference between the two conceptions lies in the fact that even though the Prakṛti is fine, it is one and all-pervading, whereas paramāṇu of Jain philosophy are infinite in number, but every paramāṇu is finest and smallest, and Lokākāśa or bhautika viśva (cosmic universe) is filled with infinite paramāṇus.

The Study of the nature of paramāṇu shows that the Jaina philosophy is the advocate of the atomic theory like the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. Nevertheless, the nature of paramāṇu conceived in this school of thought is not identical with that of paramāṇu of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. Śut it compares well with the nature of Prakṛti of the Sāṅkhya, for paramāṇu of Jaina metaphysics is transformable like the Prakṛti of the Sāṅkhya. On this ground paramāṇu of the Jainas changes into many forms like earth, water, fire, etc., just as the Prakṛti of the Sāṅkhya is the material cause of many effects like earth, water, fire, air, etc. It is not admitted by Jaina philosophy that the material atoms like earth-atoms, water-atoms, etc., are always basically of different classes. It is to be observed that paramāṇu of the Jainas is finer than paramāṇu of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, but it is unmanifest like the Prakṛti of the Sāṅkhya. Ananta-paramāṇuvāda (Doctrine of infinite ultimate atoms) of Jaina philosophy is nearer to the doctrine of plurality of the puruṣa (self) or the Prakṛti of the early Sāṅkhya.

This is the bird's eye view of Indian Atomism as embodied in Sanskrit works Brāhmanical, Buddhist and Jaina and conceived by different Indian schools of thought from their respective angle of vision on this problem of paramāṇu.

The conception of paramāṇus has been associated with the theory of the four elements of matter, viz. earth, water, fire and air. According to this conception four distinct kinds of atoms correspond to these four elements and their distinctive qualities are inherent in several atoms. This view of the atomic theory has accordingly been accepted by the Brāhmanical and Buddhist atomists like the Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas on the basis of the atomic growth of elements of matter, although their opinions differ in details.

The atomic theory is the cardinal tenet of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy.<sup>64</sup> According to its doctrine, "things that exist and are not produced from a cause are eternal: they may be inferred from the fact that all known things are products (i.e. effects). Besides, every thing perceived is non-



eternal, this idea of non-eternality presupposes eternity<sup>65</sup>. The uncaused causes of things constitute ignorance (avidyā)<sup>66</sup> on account of which they are eternal, or as one cannot conceive no other cause of the decay of an object than the disjunction or destruction of its causes, so it is taken for granted that the last causes must be eternal. Therefore, these eternal things, the causes of the non-eternal ones, are atoms, but they are intangible to the senses, for only the great thing is perceptible in case it possesses many constituent parts and presupposes colour.<sup>67</sup> Atom is indivisible, as it is not composed of material parts.<sup>68</sup>

An object is great, if it is constituted of many constituent parts or if the parts themselves are great, or if they are adjusted in a particular way<sup>69</sup>. The opposite to mahat (great thing) is aṇu (small thing)<sup>70</sup>, which is not composed of constituent parts, i.e. atom.

The statement "great, small, long and short", as popularly used are relative terms, for the same object is great with reference to one object and small in relation to another. These points to great objects because they are visible; there they are applied in a secondary sense. But expression 'great' and 'small' are not relative terms in the primary sense, but they signify distinct kind or genera of dimension like red and blue colours, otherwise one would attribute qualities (great or small) to a quality 'greatness' which goes against the principles that "qualities are attributeless". Greatness and smallness are non-eternal in non-eternal entities; they are eternal in eternal ones, i.e. absolute or infinite. The absolute small 'aṇu' is spherical in dimension.<sup>71</sup>

The qualities like colour, taste, smell, and touch in earthen and other material objects disappear on their destruction. But they are eternal objects like earth-atoms. Similarly, the inherent qualities are eternal in water-atom, fire-atom and air-atom. Some qualities are subject to chemical action (pākaja)<sup>72</sup> under the influence of heat in earth and earth-atoms. Different atoms come into conjunction<sup>73</sup>. In the beginning of creation atoms were set in motion by the unseen force called Adṛṣṭa<sup>74</sup>. Mind also is atomic in nature, according to the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. It is to be noted that the word 'aṇu' denoting atom is used in the Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya Sūtras, while the word, 'paramāṇu' is come across in the Nyāyavārtika and later works. Besides, the logic for the existence of aṇu (atom) based on the impossibility of limitless division of an object was not yet applied by Kaṇāda.

In the Nyāya Sūtra and its bhāṣya (Commentary) written by Vātsyāyana some aspects of the atomic theory are dealt with on the one hand, while it is defended against the objections raised by the opponents



on the other hand. Like the Vaiśeṣikas Gautama accepts the physical properties of atoms as discussed above, for it is incidentally stated by him that the black colour (of earth-atom) is not eternal<sup>75</sup> in spite of its existence from eternity. Hence it can be presumed that the properties of water, fire and air are considered non-eternal by him.

The metaphysical aspects relating to atoms are dealt with at the end of the analysis of avayavin (composite whole) and avayava (constituent part). It is maintained by the Naiyāyikas<sup>76</sup> that avayavin (the composite whole) is something different (arthāntara), not separated from its avayavas (Constituent parts), but rather something is perceived, though the atoms the constituent parts of it are imperceptible. An object composed of parts is avayavin and so also the parts of a part, and so on ad infinitum. The idea of avayavin cannot be conceived without reaching avayavas (the last constituent parts), hence the idea of avayavin would lead to nothing. But the limit of division of a material object ends in the indivisible atom.<sup>77</sup> This conception of atom compares well with the early Greek idea of atomicity which means indivisibility. If the division of parts is without limit, the mote would not differ in size from the highest mountain, for both of them would possess the same number of parts in that case.<sup>78</sup>

The further development of Atomism of the Naiyāyikas is found in the Nyāyavārtika of Uddyotakara in this manner that a mote in the ray of the sun entering a window is an atom, while some philosophers maintain that atoms do not exist singly (asamhata), but always in combination.<sup>79</sup> This view is apparently of the Buddhists-Vaiśeṣikas and Sautrāntikas who advocate the idea that atoms are non-eternal, for they are possessed of motion. Like the Vaiśeṣika the Naiyāyikas also maintain that atoms are set in motion by the unseen force (adṛṣṭa), but they bring in God for directing the action of atoms.<sup>80</sup>

The third stage of the development of the atomic theory is found in the conception of diad, triad, etc. It was propounded by Uddyotakara, subsequently it became the tenet of the joint Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika works. The union of these two schools of thought began early and became complete at the time of Nyāyavārtika.

### THE BUDDHIST CONCEPTION OF ATOMISM.

The atomic theory appears to have been embodied in the Buddhist philosophy by the Sarvāstivādins under the influence of their association with the Vaiśeṣikas. A frequent mention of atoms is made in the Mahāvibhāsa "in its interpretation of other works and seemingly with no sense of incongruity"<sup>81</sup>.



It seems that the atomic theory was prevalent in the early part of the second century A.D., the probable date of the *Mahāvibhāṣa*, as evidenced by the fact that the whole theory in its developed form is contained in the *Abhidharma Hṛdaya*.<sup>82</sup> It had an important place in the metaphysics in spite of their idealism, but it was refuted by the later *Yogācārins*, beginning with *Diṅnāga*<sup>83</sup> on the ground that it stood on the path of the doctrine of Store-house of consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*), i.e. all phenomena emerge from mind.

A detailed study of the atomic theory as conceived in the North does not seem to have been made by the Neo-Sthaviravādin school established by *Buddhaghōṣa*, but the use of *Kalāpa* theory (doctrine corresponding to the concept of *Samgāta-paramāṇu* of the *Sarvāstivādins*) was made by *Buddhaghōṣa* in the *Aṭṭhasālini* and was admitted as an integral part of the *Sarvāstivādin* philosophy, the idea being mentioned and considerably developed in the *Abhidhammattha Samgaha*. The name 'paramāṇu' was attributed to the ultimate units of *Kalāpa* or molecule ; thus the atomic theory is considered to be an integral part of the *Sarvāstivādin*.<sup>84</sup>

According to this school, there are stated to be fourteen kinds of atom-five atoms of the five sense-organs, five atoms of the five sense-objects and four atoms of four *Mahābhūtas*. In the *Śāṅkarabhāṣya*<sup>85</sup> also the atomic theory of the *Sarvāstivādins* is described in this way : "These Buddhists acknowledge the four elements ; earth, water, fire, and wind with their properties and products, including the organs of sense ; the four elements are atomic, the earth-atoms have the quality of hardness, the water-atoms that of viscosity, the fire-atoms that of heat and the air-atoms that of motion, in combination of these atoms form earthly things, etc.,"<sup>86</sup>

It is admitted by the *Vaibhāṣika* that an atom had six sides, but it is maintained by them that "they made but one or what comes to the same that the space within an atom cannot be divided",

Their view is refuted by the *Naiyāyikas* in an old verse quoted in the *Nyāyavārtika*<sup>87</sup>. Their conception that atoms are amenable to sense-knowledge, though are not visible apart, just as a dim sighted man sees a mass of hair, though he cannot see a single hair"<sup>88</sup> is also disputed by the *Naiyāyikas*, according to whom, atom is transcendental and intangible to the sense.

According to the *Sautrāntikas*, the aggregate of seven atoms is the smallest compound (*aṇu*)<sup>89</sup> and the Spherical atom did not touch one another completely, but there was an intervening space between them. One thing emerges out of this discussion on Atomism that it is indivisi-



ble according to all Indian systems of thought, though it is admitted by some that it might be regarded as possessing parts, viz. eight sides. It is maintained by both the Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas that atoms are impenetrable (or impassable).

The atoms of the Buddhist philosophy are non-eternal ; they emerge from time to time and then they are destroyed "papsing seemingly into nothingness"<sup>90</sup>. The ten kinds of atom. i.e. five atoms of five sense organs and five atoms of five sense-objects, are produced due to the four atoms of the four fundamental elements (Mahābhūtas) and they would instantly be destroyed, if there were not the sustaining power of the four elemental atoms<sup>91</sup>. Therefore, every derivative atom has an atom of each of the fundamental elements with it for its sustenance<sup>92</sup>. The atoms of the four fundamental elements of matter are non-permanent, constantly undergoing change by the process of origination, etc. The phenomenalist atomic conception of the Buddhists is contrary to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Jaina and other Indian systems of thought.

According to Jaina Philosophy, paramāṇupudgala<sup>93</sup> is called only paramāṇu<sup>94</sup> or dravyaparamāṇu<sup>95</sup> (atom of material substance). This conception shows the atomic growth of matter as found in the physical sciences. Paramāṇu is a substance possessing guṇa (quality) and paryāya (mode)<sup>96</sup> ; it is existent in the universe (loka) and non-existent in the non-universe (aloka) and it cannot go there<sup>97</sup>. Besides, it exists individually in one space-point as a discrete unit of matter, it occupies one point of space, but it cannot occupy two or more space-points ; it can exist together with other paramāṇus in one space-point<sup>98</sup> by its capacity of saṃkoca (capacity of becoming fine or of contraction). It is traikālika (existing in three points of time-past, present and future)<sup>99</sup> : it is endowed with the properties-colour, taste, smell and touch<sup>100</sup>, as these four qualities are called bhāvas (attributes or capacities) of paramāṇu.<sup>101</sup>

The quality of paramāṇu will remain the same as it is for ever<sup>102</sup> without loss of destruction, increase or decrease in number. No new paramāṇu will be self-generated nor will be produced by anybody. In the past no new paramāṇu was produced, no new one is produced at present and no new one will be produced in future<sup>103</sup>. Paramāṇupudgala observes the principle of 'utpāda vyaya dhrauvyayuktaṃ sat (existence is characterized by origination, destruction and permanence).<sup>104</sup> It is existent from the point of view of asti.<sup>105</sup>

Paramāṇu is transformable in regard to its guṇa (quality from the standpoint of pariṇāma (transformation)<sup>106</sup>. There takes place the transformation of four qualities in all paramāṇus, viz. Varṇapariṇāma (transformation of colour), rasapariṇāma (transformation of taste),



gandhapariṇāma (transformation of smell) and sparśapariṇāma (transformation of touch)<sup>107</sup>. The transformation of shape (Śamsthānapariṇāma) does not occur in the individual independent state of paramāṇu, for it is devoid of shape and it does not assume any shape in its discrete condition<sup>108</sup>. In this state paramāṇu undergoes transformation in the form of increase and decrease of its bhāvas (qualities) by combining with another paramāṇu or paramāṇus. There takes place the transformation in the parts of its bhāva-guṇas, i.e. only the natural transformation occurs in paramāṇu existing in its own state. It is agurulaghu (neither heavy nor light) from the point of view of Kāya (mass or body).<sup>109</sup> It is devoid of lump and part; there is no smaller and lighter form of matter than paramāṇu. It is aguru (not large or not-heavier) but laghu (lighter) than any material substance. It is agurulaghu in its own state or individual condition from the point of view of bhāva, i.e. there takes place the process of decrease and increase by six steps (sthānas) in its bhāva-guṇas (qualities). It undergoes transformation by six steps with regard to its own qualities, even when it exists in isolation in its discrete condition. As for example, a paramāṇu is onefold black, it can be infinitefold black by its capacity of agurulaghuguṇa and again it can become onefold black, having attained the decrease in its guṇas (qualities)<sup>110</sup>. The process of decrease and increase takes place at every samaya (moment or instant) by the process of natural transformation.

A paramāṇu is not jivā (soul), but ajiva (nonsoul). In its own state it is not receivable by soul. It is non-receivable (agrāhya)<sup>111</sup> That is to say; in its own condition, it does not come in the service of soul.<sup>112</sup> It is non-living (acitta) in its own individual condition because it is non-receivable by soul, i.e. soul cannot exist in a paramāṇu; therefore, it cannot become living. But soul and atom can exist together in one space-point.<sup>113</sup>

Paramāṇu has its self-existence or individuality from the point of view of individual existence and property of matter. It is manifested in its own bhāvas (states or qualities). It can be said that a paramāṇu possesses its independent nature which is different from another one, i.e. each and every paramāṇu is different from every other paramāṇu or paramāṇus. Therefore, a paramāṇu is endowed with one single individuality or discreteness.<sup>114</sup> This nature of paramāṇu of the Jainas is similar to that of paramāṇu of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy, because, according to the latter, each paramāṇu possesses its own particularity (antya-viśeṣa).<sup>115</sup>

As to the property of colour of paramāṇu it is stated that there exists in it any one of the following five colours, viz. black, blue, red,



Yellow and white.<sup>116</sup> There cannot be more than one colour in a paramāṇu. The colour of a paramāṇu can undergo transformation into the colour of another paramāṇu by combination with other parāmṇu or paramāṇus and vice-versa, but its natural colour is not destroyed. On the breaking up of the combination, a paramāṇu transforms itself into its own natural colour by dissociating from Śkandha (molecule). There is no mixed colour in a paramāṇu.<sup>118</sup>

In regard to smell there exists in a paramāṇu any one of the two smells, viz. pleasant and unpleasant.<sup>119</sup> There cannot be both of them or a mixture of them in it. The capacity of smell can be onefold upto infinitefold<sup>120</sup> in it. A paramāṇu having pleasant smell can get transformed into a paramāṇu having unpleasant smell as a result of its combination with another paramāṇu or paramāṇus and vice versa. On account of division by the breaking up of the combination, a paramāṇu transforms itself into its own natural smell. There does not take place the destruction of the natural smell of a paramāṇu in the state of its combination with another paramāṇu or paramāṇus.<sup>121</sup>

With regard to taste there exists in a paramāṇu any one of the following five tastes, viz. bitter, sour, astringent, acidic and sweet<sup>122</sup> But there cannot exist in it more than one taste. The capacity of taste can be onefold up to infinitefold.<sup>123</sup> in it. A paramāṇu can undergo transformation into the taste of another paramāṇu or paramāṇus by the process of combination. But its natural taste is not destroyed. On its dissociation from Skandha (molecule) it again transforms itself into its natural taste. There is no mixed taste in it,<sup>124</sup>

As to the quality of touch there exists in a paramāṇu any two unopposing touches of the four touches, viz. cold-cohesive, cold-dry, warm-cohesive and warm-dry<sup>125</sup>. Therefore, a paramāṇu may be either (1) Cold-Cohesive or (2) Cold-dry or (3) Warm-Cohesive or (4) Warm-dry. There is neither heavy nor light touches in it because it is agurulaghu (neither hardness nor softness in it, for these qualities are existent in gross molecule. Its capacity of coldness, warmth, cohesiveness and dryness is onefold up to infinitefold.<sup>126</sup>

### VIBRATION AND MOTION OF PARAMĀṆU

Vibration (parispanda) is conceived by the Sāṃkhya philosophy to describe every process and phenomenon of cosmic evolution<sup>127</sup>, Dr. B.N. Seal explains that "Parispandana sometimes stands for motion-molar as well as molecular, but more often for the subtle motion of atoms or molecules". The term parispandana signifies "Whirling or rotary motion, a circling motion, e.g. Vibration. "All action, operation, work



(Kriyā, Vyāpāra) is ultimately traced to this form of subtle motion lodged in the atoms or in the matter-stuff<sup>129</sup>

According to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, *parispanda* is found in all forms of matter except in *akāśa* (space which is conceived as non-atomic and inactive. All the four classes of atoms, viz. air-atoms, fire-atoms, water-atoms and earth-atoms are in continual motion. The universe at bottom is an infinitude of unceasingly vibratory particles<sup>130</sup>. Atoms are set in motion by the unseen force (*adr̥ṣṭa*), but they bring God for directing the action of atoms.<sup>131</sup> *Paramāṇu* of the Buddhists is always in a state of flux.<sup>132</sup>

According to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, there is supposed to be two kinds of motion of free atoms, viz. creative motion and non-creative motion. The creative motion produces conjunction of ultimate atoms, which leads to the formation of gross bodies and eventually of the material universe. This motion is generated in ultimate atoms only on the eve of a new cosmic creation after the period of cosmic rest.<sup>133</sup> The non-creative motion is not productive of conjunction or disjunction of ultimate atoms from the spacepoints occupied by them and joins (i.e. combines) them with the contiguous points of space. It may occasionally cause a kind of placing of atoms side by side or loose grouping of atoms, but it never conjoins them to be actually integrated nor to be composite bodies.<sup>134</sup>

No impact upon the process of creation is made by this motion ; it is possible for atoms only during the period of cosmic rest. It is supplanted by the creative motion of the emergence of the necessity for creation. The only object of non-creative motion is to determine the duration of cosmic rest in terms of *Kṣaṇa* resolved by each unit of such motion<sup>135</sup>.

There is no spontaneous motion of free atoms in these two cases, for *adr̥ṣṭa* (unseen force) is supposed to be the cause of creative motion. It leads the destiny of soul in accordance with their *Karmas* and demands of them to be furnished with properly equipped bodies and suitable material world for the experience of pleasure and pain. Under the operation of this force atoms begin to move in order to combine into countless varieties of objects. The non-creative motion is produced in this way when a body is dissolved by a violent shaking or impact, the effect of which sets the atoms of the dissolved body in motion. The motion generates in the atoms in turn the property of impulse (*Vega*) which keeps them going, i.e. Vibrating (*spandana*) continually during the whole period of cosmic rest.<sup>136</sup>



In Jaina philosophy motion of matter defined as that action which causes the movement of ultimate atoms up to that of Skandha (molecule) having anantapradesas (infinite units of matter)<sup>137</sup>. Paramāṇu is active and dynamic, but it is not always active or moving ; sometimes it is active, sometimes it is non-active.<sup>138</sup> Its activity is accidental.<sup>139</sup> There are stated to be many kinds of movement of paramāṇu. It sometimes vibrates (resolves). Sometimes it makes various vibrations till it undergoes transformation<sup>140</sup>. Paramāṇus are always in a state of flux by their acts of vibration (revolving) motion and combination with one another to transform themselves into Skandhas (molecules), hence it is explained that a paramāṇu may or may not vibrate and transform itself into the state of Vibration.<sup>141</sup>

A paramāṇu can make desāntaragāmikriyā (activity or movement of going to another place) from one space-point to another one. While making Vibrating movement, it can make also deśāntaragāmikriyā. Its motion can take place together with other movements like Vibration. etc.<sup>142</sup> Hence the question arises as to how does a paramāṇu existing in one space-point make vibration. In the usual sense the meaning of the word (ejati) is vibration, but it is not desirable here; for in that case there takes place the movement of a paramāṇu from one space-point beyond it. Therefore, a paramāṇu existing in one point of space can make only revolving movement, but revolution should be without any axis, because there cannot be the conception of axis in a paramāṇu. It is itself axis.

The movement of paramanu, such as, vibration, etc., can be niyamita (regular) and niyamita (ngolar) i.e. certain and uncertain. Here niyamitatā (regularity) or aniyamitatā (irregularity) of the movement of paramāṇu is conditional upon space-time<sup>143</sup>

In a paramāṇu activity or motion can be natural (i.e. spontaneous) or it can be due to the combination with other paramāṇus or Skandha (molecule). Activity and motion which take place in a piece of matter as a result of the combination of another piece of matter with it are called natural (naisargi). Activity and motion which occur in a piece of matter due to the instrumentality of jiva (being or soul) are called applied (prāyogika). But there cannot be any activity and motion in paramāṇu by the instrumentality of jiva (soul) because there is no capacity in it to bring about transformation in a piece of matter without receiving<sup>144</sup>. Therefore, activity and motion which take place in paramāṇu are natural.

*Speed of Motion of Paramāṇu* : A Paramāṇu can go from the eastern border of the universe to the western border and vice versa, from the northern last border to the southern border and vice versa



in one samaya (instant) by its maximum speed of motion<sup>145</sup>. Its minimum speed of motion is determined by its going from one space-point to another adjacent space-point by slow movement<sup>146</sup> in one samaya (instant). The motion of paramāṇu takes place in a straight line. In one unit of time its motion, whether from one space-point to another or from one last border of the universe to another, is to occur in a straight line<sup>147</sup>. If it is curvilinear or complex motion, then it will take more time than one samaya. Vighragati (curvilinear or complex motion) occurs due to the action of others.<sup>148</sup>

### SPRṢTAGATI OF PARAMĀṆU (MOTION OF ATOM BY TOUCHING OTHER PIECES OF MATTER :—

When a paramāṇu makes movement by touching skandhas (molecules) having from two up to infinite units of matter, this motion is called sprṣtagati.<sup>149</sup> A paramāṇu dissociates from a skandha by a terrible motion. Activity and motion of a paramāṇu are regular from some point of view and also from other points of view. But they are mainly irregular, for this reason its motion is called paramāṇorgati aniyatāh.<sup>150</sup>

Paramāṇus are Vibrating (or moving) and non-vibrating, (or non-moving) from the point of view of time.<sup>151</sup> The duration of Vibration of a paramāṇu is one samaya in the minimum and innumerableth part of an āvalikā in the maximum and the duration of its non-vibration (or non-moving) is one samaya in the minimum and innumerable samayas in the maximum.<sup>152</sup> A paramāṇu is sarvaija and nireja (wholly moving and non-moving), while skandhas (molecules) having from two up to infinite units of matter may be deśaija (partly moving), sarvaija (wholly moving) and nireja (non-moving).<sup>153</sup> In regard to the intermediate time (antarakāla) of vibration of paramāṇu and skandha it is stated that they, being immersed in one spacepoint or innumerable points of space, exist Vibrating for one samaya in the minimum and innumerableth part of an vālikā in the maximum in the case of vibration and innumerable samays in that of non-vibration from the points of view of time, etc.<sup>154</sup>. In regard to the motion of paramāṇu the basic difference between the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Jaina concepts lies in the fact that in the former's view motion is caused by adṛṣṭa (unseen force) in the case of creative motion and it is produced by the effect of violent shaking of a body or impact in the case of non-creative motion,<sup>155</sup> while according to the latter, motion in paramāṇu is an intrinsic capacity.

### RESISTANCE (PRATIGHĀTA) OF PARAMĀṆU (ULTIMATE ATOM)

The resistance (pratighāta)<sup>156</sup> obtained by a paramāṇu is possible under three conditions. (1) If there takes place the physical contact of



of paramāṇu with another one, while making motion in great speed by the process of natural transformation, then the first one is resisted in itself and can resist the second one with which it comes into contact, (2) Having combined with another paramāṇu or a skandha by virtue of its property of cohesiveness and dryness (attractive and repulsive forces), a paramāṇu loses its individuality (or discreteness) for a certain period of time, (3) It is resisted in its motion at the last border of the universe because of the absence of the principle of motion in the non-universe. Thus according to these three kinds of resistance, three names have been attributed to the resistance obtained by paramāṇu, viz. (1) Vegapratighāta (resistance obtained by a paramāṇu when it is resisted by another one on the way of its motion), (2) bandhapariṇāmapratighāta (resistance obtained by a paramāṇu due to its property of cohesiveness (attractive force) and dryness (repulsive force) and (3) upakārābhāvapratighāta (resistance obtained by a paramāṇu at the last border of the universe because of the absence of principle of motion).<sup>157</sup>

The Jaina view of oscillation and motion of paramāṇu is nearer to to the atomic motion of the physical sciences.

As for example, "From X-ray studies it is known that in crystalline solids the atoms are located at definite points in a lattice arrangement. The atoms vibrate about those lattice points, the amplitude of the vibration increasing the rise in temperature. At the melting point, which occurs at a fixed temperature different for each crystalline substance, the amplitude of the vibrations have become so large as to disturb the orderly arrangement of the atoms."<sup>158</sup>

The concept of oscillatory behaviour, or wave motion is a basic one which finds wide application in atomic physics<sup>159</sup>. "The wave aspect of elementary particles is possibly their most fundamental characteristic, and it is not possible to reduce this concept further by forming any adequate picture of what substance, if any, is undergoing pulsation."<sup>160</sup>

"The motion of atom, its smashing by the energy within itself and and the emission of energy from it and the radiation from the radio elements which consist of three distinct types—a, B and Y rays. Radio active substances emit spontaneously either helium nuclei or electrons". These take place of the radio active transformations in them, "When a nucleus is transformed into another, either by a or B decay, some energy is released in the process, which is taken up as the energy of motion of the a or the B particle with surplus appearing as Y rays. The energy released from the nucleus may be quite high of the order of millions of electron volts"<sup>161</sup>.



As to Vega-pratighāta of paramāṇu conceived in Jaina philosophy the physical sciences contain a parallel view in regard to the collision of atomic particles. "In any elastic collision, say between two billiards balls, the total energy and the total momentum before and after the collision must be the same. If one ball makes a head-on collision with another at rest, the first will come to stop and the second will carry on in the forward direction with the energy and momentum previously had by the first particle. In off centre collisions both balls will be set into motion at right angles to each other, and the direction and energy of each of the balls can be simply calculated from the conservation of laws. Similarly, if an atomic particle collides with a helium nucleus, both are set in motion at right angles to each other. We can often observe the paths of both particles after collision in a cloud chamber and verify that the laws of conservation of energy and momentum hold for nucleus processes."<sup>162</sup>

"Neutrons themselves are last detected by making them collide with protons, i. e. by letting the neutron beam pass through a hydrogenous medium, say water or paraffin wax. Since the neutron and the proton have approximately the same mass, their collision is analogous to that between two billiards balls. In a head-on collision the neutron is brought to rest and the proton is emitted in the forward direction with the whole energy. In the off-centre collision the proton may be emitted at different angles but from the angle of emission and from the energy of the proton the energy of the neutron can be deduced".<sup>163</sup>

In regard to Bandha-parināma-pratighāta of paramāṇu a similar theory is found in the physical sciences, "Every atom exerts a force upon every other atom. The details and the magnitude of the force vary as between one type of atom and another, but in general, the force is always a force of attraction when the atoms are at a distance apart greater than their normal diameters, changing to a force of repulsion if the atoms are forced very close together. Thus there will be a tendency for atoms because of their force of attraction to draw together and stick".<sup>164</sup>

The Jaina view of upakārābhāvapratiḡhāta of paramāṇu (ultimate atoms) compares well with the view of modern science that beyond the borders of the finite universe even the light rays do not travel, as nothing lies beyond, probably nothing manifested; "light rays, apparently going in a circle, returning boomerang-like to their point of departure".<sup>165</sup> That is to say, they are resisted or checked like paramāṇus of Jaina philosophy at the last border of the universe because of the absence of the support of motion.



## TRANSFORMATION OF PARAMĀNU

“According to the Sāṃkhya philosophy, change is taking place everywhere, from the smallest and least to the highest. Atoms and reals are continuously vibrating and changing places in any and every object. At each moment the whole universe is undergoing change, and the collocation of atoms at any moment is different from what it was at the previous moment”.<sup>166</sup>

Rajas (energy) works on the original infinitesimal units of Mass (Bhūtādi), “absolutely homogeneous and absolutely inert and ubiquitous being devoid of all physical and chemical characters (rūpādibhirasaṃ yutaṃ) except quantum (paricchinnā-parināmas)’”.

The action of energy on the original units produces the infra-atomic unit-potentials (tanmātras) charged with different kinds of energy. It “represents the subtle matter, vibratory, impinging, radiant, etc. instinct with potential energy”. These “potentials” arise from the unequal aggregation of the original Mass-units in different proportions and collocations with an unequal distribution of the original energy (Rajas).<sup>167</sup>

First the “potential” of the sound-stimulus is lodged in one class of particles, Tanmātras which possess the physical energy of vibration (parispanda), and serve to form the radicle of the ether-atom (ākāśa-paramāṇu), then the potential of the tactile Stimulus is lodged in another class of tanmātras, particles of which possess the physical energy of impact or mechanical pressure in addition to that of vibration, and serve to form the radicle of the air-atom (vāyu-paramāṇu); next the potential of the colour-stimulus is lodged in a third class of tanmātras, particles of which are charged with the energy and radiant heat and light in addition to those of impact and vibration, and serve to form the nucleus of the light-and-heat corpuscle, then the potential of the taste stimulus is lodged in other tanmātras, particles of which possess the energy of viscous attraction, in addition to those of heat, impact, and vibration, and afterwards develop into the atom of water; and lastly, the potential of the smell-stimulus is lodged in a further class of tanmātras, particles of which are charged with the energy of cohesive attraction, in addition to those of viscous attraction, heat, impact and Vibration, and which serve to form the radicle of the earth atoms.<sup>168</sup>

According to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika transformation of atomic matter takes place in the form of chemical action in its different forms in accordance with the following rules viz. (1) Kāraṇaguṇapūrvakah Kāryaguṇo dṛṣṭah, <sup>169</sup> (2) Samānajatīyasamyogaḥ dravyārambhakaḥ na vijātiyasamyogaḥ, (3) apākaja-rūpa-rasa-gandha-sparsā parimāṇaikatvaika prthakt-



vagurutvadravātvasnehavagāḥ Kāranagunapūrvakāḥ and (4) rūparasayagandhānuṣṇasparśśāśabdaparinimāṇaikatvaitkaprthak vasnehāḥ Samānaj-ātārambhakāḥ.<sup>170</sup>

The Nyāya philosophy agrees with the Vaiśeṣika on this point “Kāranagunapūrvakāḥ Kāryaguṇo dṛṣṭaḥ” the quality of the composite product is produced by the corresponding quality of the constitutive cause as a rule). But it differs from the latter in regard to a particular class of events, viz. the emergence of new qualities in earth-bodies due to the action of heat. That is, it is a kind of conjunction of the taijasa (fiery) elements by which the previous colour, etc., of the earth-atoms are destroyed and another colour, etc., are produced in their place.

On the contact of an earthly object with fire in a furnace a motion is generated in the ultimate constituent particles of it through the forcible contact (abhighāta) or impulsion (nodana)<sup>171</sup> of the fire. As a result of this motion the disjunction are generated by it in its turn; they cause the destruction of the conjunction in existence between the various parts of the composite and finally convert them to their ultimate particles. Later on the destruction of their qualities by these particles, again fresh qualities are generated in place of the old one by a fresh similar contact of fire. They are called pākajas (transformed by Chemical action). There are stated to be two kinds of pāka (Chemical action, viz. pīlupāka (Chemical action of isolated atoms) of the Vaiśeṣika and piṭharapāka (Chemical action of the whole body) of the Naiyāyikas<sup>172</sup>.

The Vaiśeṣika maintains that when the unbaked earthen pot, etc., are brought into contact with fire, motion is produced in paramānus of it by the forcible striking (abhighāta) or pressure (nodana) of the fire. Disjunction is produced by this motion in the constituents of the pot and it is followed by the destruction of the conjunction existing between the various constituents of the composite and finally their splitting up into the ultimate particles (atoms). After the complete disintegration of the body of the unbaked earthen pot a second impact of fire-particles upon the isolated atoms (pīlus-aṇus) destroys their original attributes like colour, etc., in these atoms in place of the old ones. Thereafter, a reverse motion is generated by the influence of the unseen force of the individual selves in the liberated and homogeneously transformed atoms which combine together by twos. The combination of the red diads results in the corresponding triads; thus the process leads to the production of the red pot of the original magnitude and share<sup>174</sup>.

The merit of the theory of pīlupāka (Chemical action of isolated atoms) is that it follows strictly the dictum “The quality in the effect is



necessarily the outcome of the corresponding quality of the cause."<sup>175</sup>. i.e. the emergence of new qualities takes place in the isolated atoms (pilus) as a result of the action of heat.

The theory of piṭharapāka of the Naiyāyikas maintains that the change of qualities takes place in the whole body (piṭhara), remaining structurally intact.<sup>176</sup> as a result of the action of heat on the ground that it is perceived that a pot remains structurally intact even when it is being burnt by the fire inside the potter's furnace.<sup>177</sup> The recognition of the identity of the burnt pot and the unbaked one is not invalidated by a subsequent experience, but it stands as conclusive proof against the Vaiśeṣika view which holds the two pots to be entirely different both numerically and qualitatively<sup>178</sup> and so on.

It appears from the analysis of pilupāka and piṭharapāka theories that the latter process seems to be more acceptable, for the physical sciences have demonstrated that heat can penetrate into a piece of metal and bring about a change in its internal structure without destroying the magnitude of it. Taste, smell and colour also change with its chemical action.

According to Jaina philosophy, an ultimate atom (paramāṇu) undergoes two kinds of pariṇāma (transformation) viz. gatiparināma (transformation of motion) and agurulaghuguna-pariṇāma (transformation of quality of neither heaviness nor lightness. An ultimate atom having equal guna (quality) will transform another ultimate atom having equal but dissimilar guna (quality) because of its combination with another ultimate atom or molecule. An ultimate atom having higher degrees of qualities will transform an ultimate atom having the lower ones.<sup>179</sup> It is explained by Umāsvāti in his Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra that some skandha (molecule or aggregate) is formed by the process of combination of ultimate atoms, some by that of dissociation of molecules and some by both the processes of combination and dissociation of ultimate atoms<sup>180</sup> or molecules. When one binary molecule is formed by the combination of two discrete ultimate atoms, then it is called dvipradesika skandha produced by the combination of two ultimate atoms. Similarly, tripradesika, caturpradesika, samkhyātapradesika, asamkhyātapradesika, anantapradesika upto anantānantapradesika-skandha are formed by the combination of three four, countable, countless, infinite upto infinitefold infinite ultimate atoms<sup>181</sup> respectively and so on.

The ultimate atom is not the effect of any material substance, for this reason the combination of material substances is not possible in its origination. It has been accepted as eternal; nevertheless, here its origination which is spoken of in the aphorism "Bhedādaṇu" is



explained from the point of view of paryāya (mode), i.e. an ultimate atom is eternal substance, but it is also producible (janya) from the modal point of view. The states of its existence sometimes as the constituent element of a molecule and sometimes as discrete atoms, because of being dissociated from molecule are its paryāya, (modes or particular conditions). Its discrete state (Viśakalita avasthā) originates by the disintegration of molecule, for this reason, here the purport of the statement, "Bhedādaṇu" is this much that the ultimate atom having discrete state is the effect (Kārya) of the disintegration of the molecule, not the pure ultimate atom.<sup>182</sup>

In the physical sciences the transformation of atomic matter is explained by the chemical behaviour of it in the following manner "Why molecules sometimes inter-change atoms and form new substances, and why molecules already formed can sometimes dissociate again into separate atom.<sup>183</sup> These questions correspond to the sūtras of Tattvārthadhigamasūtra" Bhedasanghātebhya utpadyante; Bhedādaṇu" (Molecules are formed by division, Combination and division-cum-combination; atom is produced only by division).

"In more complex chemical reactions in which atoms are interchanged between molecules there are more quantities of energy to be considered. There are the energies which have to be supplied before the separate molecules can be dissociated and also the energies gained by formation of the new types of molecule. Even in a gaseous mixture there will be ample opportunity for interchanges during collisions between molecules. The course of a given chemical reaction will depend on all these quantities of energy and upon the temperature, and also on the concentrations in which the various substances are present".<sup>184</sup>

This chemical behaviour as explained in the physical sciences is similar to the Jaina conception of transformation of atomic matter by the process of combination, of dissociation and of both combination and dissociation of atoms.

### COMBINATION OF ATOMS (PARAMĀNU).

According to the Sāmkhya, the process of different elements of Matter is explained in the following manner: there are stated to be two classes of aggregates, viz. (1) those of which the parts are closely united and fused, being lost in the whole (ayutasiddhāvayavāḥ) and mechanical aggregates or collocations of distinct and independent parts (Yutasiddhāvayavāḥ samūhāḥ).

As an aggregate of the first kind a substance may be classified into two groups, viz. the Bhūtas and their 'isomeric' modifications (bhūtabheda and bhutavikāra) and chemical compounds (militadravya samha-



tabhūtārtha). The second class of the substance may be sub-divided into two groups, viz. (1) those compounds of atoms of different Bhūta classes. In the former there takes place the contact between 'isomeric' atoms (sajātīyāsamyoga), while in the latter there occurs the contact between heterogeneous atoms (vijātīya-samyoga). The first contact brings about the intimate combination.<sup>185</sup> "The isomeric atoms by a peculiar liberation of energy (Sajātīyopaṣṭambha-the action of similars on similars) are attracted towards one another, and being reveted as it were, from the so-called material cause (upādānakāraṇa) of the compound product.<sup>186</sup> The second kind of contact (that between unlike atoms of heterogeneous Bhūtas) begins with a liberation of Energy (upaṣṭambha), which breaks up each of the Bhūtas; and taking particles (or atoms) of one as nucleus or radicles, groups particles of the rest round these radicles in a comparatively free or unattached condition.<sup>181</sup>

In the above process the one Bhūta performing the function of providing the radicles is called upādāna-Kāraṇa (material cause), while the others bringing about the release of Energy by their collocation (upaṣṭambha, avaṣṭambha, or viṣṭambha) are known as nimittakāraṇa (efficient cause).<sup>188</sup> It is demonstrated by the examples of the Rajas modifications of Ap (Water, with earth-accretions that this process applies to the attributes (gunas) and the Bhūtas.<sup>189</sup>

It is admitted by the Sāṃkhya that diad (dvyaṇuka) may be formed by atoms in constituting substance.<sup>190</sup> In the mediaeval Sāṃkhya-pātañjala it was conceived under the influence of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika that the intimate combination took place in the case of the structure of molecule formed of 'isomeric' atoms, while in the case of a molecule formed of heterogeneous atoms there occurred only grouping of comparatively free or loosely attached atoms round a radicle atom (Vyūhana) with liberation of Energy 'upaṣṭambha, avaṣṭambha or viṣṭambha) and the setting up of unequal stress and strain (gunavaiaṣmyavimardda-līśvarakṛṣṇa). There existed a fundamental difference between these two structures of molecules. But this distinction is not applicable to the tanmātras (infra-atomic potentials or Śūkṣmabhūtas), the forms of subtile matter which could combine into close "fusion whether homogeneous or heterogeneous.<sup>191</sup>

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika explains that the ultimate atoms exist in discrete state in creation<sup>1,92</sup> nevertheless, the atmospheric air consists of the masses of atoms in a loose uncombined state.<sup>193</sup> One earth-atom combines with another by an original tendency to form a dyad (dvyaṇuka). In the same manner the dyads of other elements of matter are constituted. The ultimate atoms are endowed with inherent vibration (parispandana) and it is the rule that while combining in pairs except in



the case of the chemical action under the influence of heat, the original qualities of the ultimate atoms generate homogeneous qualities in the dyads.<sup>194</sup>

In the orthodox view, the primordial infinitesimal atoms begin with an unceasing vibratory motion.<sup>195</sup> And an inherent impulse leads them to combine into dyad. The dyads constitute larger molecules, having combined by threes, fours, fives, etc., and the variety of elementary substances. The particular arrangement of them is determined by the physical causes as well as by the unseen force (*Adṛṣṭa*).<sup>196</sup> It appears that this view has been originated by *Praśastapāda*.<sup>197</sup>

According to another view maintained by the *Vaiśeṣika* system, the ultimate atoms possess an inherent tendency to combine with one another, but some combine in pairs, others in triads, etc; either by the ultimate atoms falling into the groups of threes, fours, etc. direct, or by the successive addition of one atom to each preceding aggregate. The latter process of combination by the successive addition of one atom to each preceding aggregate is similar to the *Jaina* view of the formation of *dvīpradeśika*-*tripradesī* *kaskandhas*, etc. Therefore, like the *Jaina* *tripradeśika* *kandha* the *Vaiśeṣika* *tryanuka* inheres in three atoms, but not in three *dyvanukas* (dyads). Similarly, the same process of combination of atoms follow in the case of tetrads, pentads, etc.<sup>198</sup>

According to *Praśastapādabhāṣya*, the dyads are combined by threes, fours, fives, etc. (*tryanuka*, *Caturanuka*, etc.) to constitute different isomeric modifications "The variety of Earth-substances is due to differences in the arrangements of the molecules (e.g. their greater or less density) and, above all. their grouping or collocation, *vyūha*, *avayavasanniveśa*, which account for the specific characters (*aparajāti*) manifested by these isomeric substances".<sup>199</sup>

As already pointed out, an elementary substance like earth produced by primary atomic combination may undergo qualitative change under the action of heat in a furnace, according to the theories, viz. *pīlupāka* of the *Vaiśeṣika* and *Pitharapāka* of the *Naiyāyikas*, i.e. (1) the decomposition into homogeneous atoms, transformation of atomic qualities and finally recombination, all under the operation of heat and the assuming of new characters by the molecules and larger aggregates under the influence of heat without decomposition into homogeneous atoms or change of atomic characters.<sup>200</sup>

In the Buddhist philosophy the process of combination and dissociation of matters are not clearly dealt with as it is treated in other Indian Schools of thought. Nevertheless, it is implied from the Buddhist



conception of sanghātāparamānus (combined atoms) like saptadravya-kāṣṭadravyaka, navadravyaka and daśadravyaka, and Kalāpa that the atoms of earth, of water, of fire and of air and the atoms of colour, and shape, sound, odour, taste and tangible cannot "appear independently without being combined with the fundamental ones, in the ratio of four atoms of primary matter to one of secondary."<sup>201</sup> So the minimum number of four atoms of general materiality integrated with each atom of colour odour, taste, and secondary tangibility matter is necessary "for their actual appearance in life."<sup>202</sup> In the case of particular piece of matter resounded, atoms of sound being added to it make the combination comprising nine different atoms.<sup>203</sup> "The combined atoms (Saṅghātāparamānu alone appear in phenomenal reality, the simple one, or infra-atomic elements, presumably, were relegated to the transcendental reality, in accordance with the general character of a Buddhist element. This device made it an easy task for Buddhists to oppose indivisibility of atoms."<sup>204</sup>

According to the later Vaibhāṣikas, air-atoms, form air by aggregation, fire-atoms, constitute fire by aggregation, water-atoms form water by aggregation and earth-atoms form earth by aggregation. The elements combine to constitute inorganic substances, organism and organs.<sup>205</sup>

The combination of atoms is explained in Jaina philosophy in this way that some skandha (molecule) is formed by the process of combination of paramānus (ultimate atoms) some by that of dissociation of skandhas and some by both the processes of combination and dissociation of paramānus of skandhas.<sup>206</sup> When one dvipradeśika-Skandha (binary molecule) is formed by the combination of two discrete paramānus, then it is called a skandha produced by the integration of two paramānus. Similarly, tripradesikaskandha (triad) up to anantānantapradeśikaskandha (molecule having infinitefold infinite units of matter) are formed by the combination of three up to infinitefold infinite paramānus<sup>207</sup> respectively.

The combination of paramānus<sup>208</sup> takes place as a result of the chemical behaviour of the properties of matter of unequal degrees, viz. (1) Śnigdhatva (cohesiveness of attractive force), (2) rūkṣatva (dryness or repulsive force) and (3) snigdhatva-rūkṣatva (Cohesiveness cum-dryness=attractive-cum repulsive forces), which are inherent in both paramānus and skandhas having two up to infinitefold units.

It lasts for one samaya (instant) in the minimum and asaṃkhyāta kālās (innumerable units of time) in the maximum. Two paramānus combine together into a skandha (molecule) because of their possession of the property of snehakāyatva<sup>209</sup> (cohesiveness or attractive force).



Skandhas also integrate and disintegrate into two, three, units, etc.<sup>210</sup> On the basis of this Jaina āgamic view of the process of combination of paramāṇus Umāsvāti explains it in this manner that it takes place by virtue of the properties of Cohesive and dry forces<sup>211</sup> which are associated with them. The origination of the material aggregate of the mutual contact of discrete (unitary) paramāṇus, etc.<sup>212</sup> For this reason besides the contact (saṃyoga), there is something for its production. The purport of the aphorism “Snigdharūkṣatvādbandhaḥ”<sup>213</sup>, is to show this fact. In addition to the mutual conjunction it is also necessary that there should be properties-cohesiveness and dryness (i.e. attractive and repulsive forces) in paramāṇus. When cohesive and dry constituent parts combine mutually with each other, there takes place their binding—transformation of oneness, (i.e. integration). The molecules like dyads, etc. are formed by this combination. There can be two kinds of combination of cohesive and dry constituent parts. viz. sadṛśa (similar) and Visadṛśa (dissimilar). The taking place of combination of the cohesive constituent with the cohesive one and of the dry constituent with the dry one is called sadṛśabandhana (similar combination)<sup>214</sup>, while the combination of the cohesive constituent with the dry one is called Visadṛśabandhana (dissimilar combination). So there are stated to be two kinds of bandhanapariṇāma (binding transformation of the matter), viz. snigdhabandhana-pariṇāma (binding transformation of the Cohesive constituent parts) and rūkṣabandhanapariṇāma (binding transformation of the dry constituent parts).<sup>214</sup>

The general rules of the combination of particles of matter are as follows : 1. There does not take place the combination of the cohesive and dry constituent elements of matter having the quantum of the lowest (minimum) properties (energies)<sup>215</sup>, i.e. there does not occur the combination of paramāṇus having the minimum quantum of properties. 2. On account of there being equal quantum of properties there does not take place the combination of similar constituent particles of matter.<sup>216</sup> That is to say, there is no possibility of the combination of the cohesive constituent part with the cohesive one and that of the dry constituent with the dry one. 3. Paramāṇus having equal degree of cohesiveness or dryness, and being of the same kind, cannot combine with paramāṇus of their own kind.<sup>217</sup> 4. There takes place the combination of similar or dissimilar constituent parts having the difference in their degrees of cohesiveness or of dryness by two units more.<sup>218</sup>

In the three aphorisms ‘Na jaghanyaguṇānām’, ‘guṇasāmye sadṛśānām’ and ‘dvyadhikādiguṇānām tu’ the first aphorism forbids the combination of particles of matter on the ground that there cannot take place the mutual combination of paramāṇus having the minimum properties of cohesiveness or dryness in them.<sup>219</sup> It is revealed by the act of negation that there can be the mutual combination of all cohesive



or dry constituent elements having medium and maximum degrees of these properties.<sup>220</sup> But in this rule also there lies an objection which is explained in the next aphorism 'Guṇasāmye sadṛśānām'. According to it, there can take place the mutual combination of similar constituent having equal degrees of properties of cohesiveness or of dryness. In this way there cannot occur the combination of the cohesive paramāṇus with the cohesive paramāṇus having equal degree of cohesiveness (i.e. attractive force) and that of the dry paramāṇus with the dry paramāṇus having equal degrees of dryness (i.e. attractive force).<sup>221</sup> The contention of this negation shows that there can be the combination of similar paramāṇus having unequal degree of properties—Cohesiveness and dryness<sup>222</sup> (attractive and repulsive forces). Having abridged the expressed meaning in the third aphorism 'Dyadhikādigunānām tu' the limitation for the combination of equal quantum of properties of similar constituents has been determined. In accordance with this rule there can take place the combination of similar constituents having unequal degree of property-cohesiveness or dryness when the property of cohesiveness of dryness element is more than the property of cohesiveness or of dryness of other constituent elements by two, three, four units, etc.<sup>223</sup> Therefore, if the property of Cohesiveness or of dryness of one constituent element is more than the property of cohesiveness or of dryness of the other constituent element by only one unit, then there cannot be the combination of similar constituent elements.<sup>224</sup>

The Sāṃkhya view<sup>225</sup> of the combination of isomeric atoms (svajātiyāsamyoga) and that of heterogeneous atoms (Vijātiya-samyoga) caused by a peculiar liberation of energy (upaśṭambha) is comparable to the Jaina rule that there would be combination between paramāṇus of the same kind and the opposite kind, if there be difference in the degrees of cohesiveness and dryness.<sup>226</sup> Truly speaking, the combination of matter of the Sāṃkhyayoga view is pañcīkarana.

The Jaina conception of the interacts between paramāṇus which give rise to the existence and behaviour of matter in bulk bears some points of similarity with the law of the physical sciences in regard to the inter-atomic forces and the combination of atoms. It is explained by the latter that 'every atom exerts a force upon every other atom. The details and magnitudes of the force vary as between one type of atom and another, but in general the force is always force of attraction when the atoms are at a distance apart greater than their normal diameters, changing to a force of repulsion, if the atoms are forced very close together. Thus there will be a tendency for atoms because of their force of attraction to draw together and stick.'<sup>227</sup>



The above outlines of Indian Atomism as embodied in Sanskrit works of different Indian Schools of thought clearly reveal the greatest value of their respective scientific approaches to the problem, even in the absence of critical verifying data of modern experimental science.

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 "Kāraṇaguṇapūrvakāḥ prthivyām pākajāḥ 1", Ibid., VII 1-6.
73. "Aṇusamyogastvapratīsidhah 1", Ibid., IV. ii. 4.
74. "Agnerurddhvajvalanam Vāyostiryakpavanamañūnām manasas-  
 cādyam karmādr̥ṣṭakāritam 1", Ibid., V. 11.13.
- 74x. "Tadabhāvādaṇu manaḥ 1", Ibid., VII. 1.23.
75. "Aṇuśyāmatānityatvabaddhā 1", Nyāyasūtra IV 1.67 and its  
 Bhāṣya.
76. "Saviśyānatikramendriyasya paṭumandabhāvādviśayaggrahaṇasya  
 tathābhāvo nāviśaye pravṛttih 1", Ibid., IV, 11.14.  
 "Avayavāyaviprasaṅgaiścaivamāpralayāt", Ibid., IV, 11.15.  
 "Na pralayo aṇusadbhāvāt", Ibid., IV, 11.16.  
 "Param vā truteḥ 1", Ibid, IV. 11,17.
77. "Sarvagrahaṇamavayavyasiddheḥ", Ibid., II. 1.35.  
 "Paramānusamavasthānam tāvad-darśanaviśayo na bhavatyatīndri-  
 yatvādañūnām", Ibid. (Bhāṣya); Ibid., II. 1.36.  
 "Avayavyarthāntarabhūta iti 1", Ibid. (Bhāṣya), II. 1.36.  
 Senāvanavaditi grahaṇamiti Cennātīndriyatvādañūnām" Ibid., II.  
 1.37.



78. Kṛtsnaikadesāvṛttitvādavayavānāmavayavyabhāvah 1", Ibid., IV. 2-7.  
 "Teṣu Cāvṛtteravayavyabhāvah 1", Ibid., IV. 2-8,  
 "Pṛthakcāvayavebhyo avṛtteh 1", Ibid., IV. 2.9.  
 Na cāvayavyavayavāh 1", Ibid., IV. 2.10,  
 "Ekasminbhedābhāvādbhedaśabdaprayoganutpatterapraśnah Ibid., IV. 2.11.  
 Avayavāntarābhava apyṽṛtterahetuh 1" Ibid., IV. 2.12.  
 "Keśasamūhe taimirikopalabdhivattadupalabdhīh 1", Ibid., IV. 2.13.
79. Nyāyavārtika of Uddyotakara, p. 234.
80. Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya, p. 21.
81. A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy by Mc. Govern, p. 126.
82. "It was translated into Chinese in the Third Century. A.D.," Vide A Manual of Buddhist philosophy, p. 126.
83. Ibid., See Ālambanapratyaya.
84. Ibid.
85. Śāṅkarabhāṣya on Brahmasutra II, 2. 18. (Samudāya ubhayahe-tukepi tadapṛāptih).
86. Tatra ye Sarvāstivādino bāhyamāntarañca vastvabhyupagacchanti-bhūtaṇi bhautikaṃ cittam caittañca tamstāvat pratibṛmaḥ I Tatra bhūtaṃ pṛthivīdhātūdayaḥ, bhautikaṃ rūpādayaścakṣurādayśca, catuṣṭaye ca pṛthivyādi paramānavah Kharasnehosneranasvabhā-vaste pṛthivyādi bhāvena Samhanyanta iti manyante I tathā rūpayij-ñānavedanāsamjñāsamskārasamjñakaḥ pañcaskandhā tehyapyadhyāt-maḥ sarvavyavahārāspadabhāvena saṃhanyanta iti manyate I" Sarvadarśanasamgraha, p. 24, paṃkti 14, Śāṅkarabhāṣya II. 2. 18.; See Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II, pp. 199-200.
87. Nyāyavārtika of Uddyotakara, pp. 521-22.
88. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics; Vol. II, p. 201.



89. "Saptadravyāvinirbhāgi paramāṇurbahirgataḥ I Kāmeṣvekādhikaḥ kāye dvyadhikaścakṣurādiṣu I Sarvaśukṣmaḥ Khalu", Abhidharma Dīpa, p. 65, cf. Abhidharma Kośa, II. 22.
90. A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy by Mc. Govern, p. 127.
91. "Dhṛtyādikarmasamsiddhāḥ Kharasnehoṣṇateranāḥ 1" Abhidharmakośa, I, 12.
92. Ibid., 4. 29.
93. Tīkā on Bhagavatī Vyākhyāprajñapti, Śātaḥ 14. uddeśaka 4, Sūtra 513; Śātaḥ 20, uddeśaka 6, Sūtra 670,
94. Ibid., Śātaḥ 20, uddeśaka 6, Sūtra 670; Śātaḥ 18, uddeśaka 6, Sūtra 631.
95. Ibid., Śātaḥ 20, uddeśaka 6, Sūtra 670,
96. Ibid., śātaḥ 14, uddeśaka 4, sūtra 512; śātaḥ 18, uddeśaka 6, śūtra 631.
97. Ibid., śātaḥ 2, uddeśaka 10, śūtra 121.
98. Paramāṇukhaṇḍaṣaṭṭrimśika by Ratnasimhasūri Vṛtti, p. 2; Sarvārthasiddhi by Ācāryapūjyapada, see the Commentary on Ch. V, sūtra 14.
99. Tīkā on Bhagavatī Vyākhyāprajñapti, śātaḥ 14, uddeśaka 4. śūtra 510.
100. Ibid., śātaḥ 8, uddeśaka 6, sūtra 631; śātaḥ 20, uddeśaka 5, sūtra 688.
101. Ibid., śātaḥ 20, uddeśaka 5, śūtra 670.
102. Ibid., śātaḥ 2, uddeśaka 10, sūtra 119; śātaḥ 14, uddeśaka 14, sūtra 510.
103. Ibid., śātaḥ 2, uddeśaka 10, sūtra 118; Tattvārthadhigamasūtra by Umāsvāti, prathama vibhāga, Ch. V, sūtra 3; see its auto commentary, p. 322.
104. Tattvārthadhigamasūtra by Umāsvāti, prathama Vibhāga, Ch. V, 29, p. 374.



105. Ibid., p. 381.
106. Tikā on Bhagavatī Vyākhyāprajñapti, śataka 5, uddeśaka 7, sutra 213; Tattvārthādhigamasūtra by Umāsvāti, prathama Vibhaga, p. 437.
107. Ibid., śataka 8, uddeśaka 10, sūtra 356; Tattvārthādhigamasūtra by Umāsvāti, prathama Vibhaga, p. 324.
108. Ibid., śataka 8, uddeśaka 10, sutras 356, 357.
109. Ibid., śataka 1, uddeśaka 2, sutra 73.
110. Ibid., śataka 25, uddeśaka 4, sutra 730.
111. Ibid., śataka 20, uddeśaka 5, sutra 670.
112. Ibid., śataka 18, uddeśaka 4, sutra 662.
113. Ibid., śataka 13, uddeśaka 4, sutra 484.
114. Ibid., śataka 12, uddeśaka 10, sutra 469.
115. Praśastapādabhāṣya on Vaiśeṣikadarśana, Kāśī-Sanskrit-pustakamala 3, published by Chowkhamba Sanskrit Pustakalaya Office, printed at Vidyavilasa press, 1923, p. 7.
116. Tikā on Bhagavatī Vyākhyāprajñapti, śataka 18, uddeśaka 6, sutra 631; śataka 20, uddeśaka 5, sutra 740.
117. Ibid., śataka 25, uddeśaka 4, sutra 740.
118. Paramāṇukhaṇḍaṣaṭṭriṃsika by Ratnasimhasuri, p. 1, Tattvārtha Rajavartika by Akalaṅkādeva, Bhaga II, Ch. V. Sutra 25; see its commentary Nos. 13-14, pp. 491-92.
119. Tikā on Bhagavatī Vyākhyāprajñapti, śataka 18, uddeśaka 6, sutra 631; śataka 20, uddeśaka 5, sutra 668; śataka 25, uddeśaka 4, sutra 740.
120. Ibid., śataka 25, uddeśaka 4, sutra 740; Pudgalaṣaṭṭriṃsika by Ratnasimhasuri, p. 24



121. Paramāṇukhaṇḍaśaṭṭrimśika by Ratnasimhasuri. p. 1.
122. Tikā on Bhagavati Vyākhyāprajñapti, śataka 18, uddeśaka 6, sutra 631; śataka 20, uddeśaka 5, sutra 668.
123. Ibid., śataka 25, uddeśaka 4, sutra 740; pudgala-śaṭṭrimśika by Ratnasimhasuri, pp. 5-6.
124. Paramāṇukhaṇḍaśaṭṭrimśika by Ratnasimhasuri pp. 1-4.
125. Tikā on Bhagavatī Vyākhyāprajñapti, śataka 20, uddeśaka 5, sūtra 668; Tattvārtha Rājavārtika by Akalaṅkadeva, Bhaga II, pp. 491-92.
126. Ibid., śataka 16, uddeśaka 4, sūtra 740; Pudgalaśaṭṭrimśika by Ratnasimhasūri, pp. 5-6.
127. "Vyaktaṁ Sakriyaṁ parisvandavat I", Tattvakaumudī, 10, Vācaspati. Misra
128. The positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, Dr. B. N. Seal, p. 121,
129. Ibid.
130. "Anavarataparispandamānāparimitapavanādiparamāṇavaḥ Raghunātha, compare also paramāṇavaḥ higaṭiśilatvāt patatravyapadeśāḥ patantitī 1"
131. Nyāyakusumāñjali, Udayana stabaka: V, Vide The positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, p. 122.
132. Praśastapādabhāṣya, p. 21.
133. "Dhṛtyādikarmasamsiddhāḥ Kharasnehoṣṇateraṇāḥ 1" Abhidharma-kośa, 1.12.
134. Studies in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Metaphysics by Dr. Sadananda Bhaduri, p. 146.
135. Ibid., p. 147; see Nyāyakusumāñjalibodhini of Varadarāja, p. 91.
136. Ibid., see Nyāyakusumāñjali of Udayana, Pt. I, p. 333.



136. Nyāyakuṣumāñjalibodhini p. 91, Vide Studies in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Metaphysics, p. 147.
137. Prajñāpanasūtra, purvārdha, see its Tīkā of Malayagiri, published by Āgamodayasamiti, Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1918, pāda 16, sutra 205, pp. 326-27.
138. Tīkā of Bhagavatī Vyākhyāprajñapti, śataka 5, uddeśaka 7, sutra 213;
139. Ibid. It shows that the motion of paramāṇu is relative, it is sometimes stable and sometimes unstable like the nuclei of atom of the physical sciences.
140. Ibid., śataka 5, uddeśaka 7, sutra 213.
141. Ibid.,
142. Ibid., śataka 3, uddeśaka 3, Sutra 153. see the commentary of Śrī Abhayadevasuri on this sutra
143. Ibid.
144. Ibid., śataka 3, uddeśaka 2, sutra 147; śataka 5. uddeśaka 8, sutra 221; śataka 6, uddeśaka 3, sutras 233-34; śataka 6, uddeśaka 9, sutra 253; śataka 16, uddeśaka 8, sutra 585. In Aloka (Non-Universe) there is no existence of matter and media of motion and rest, hence soul cannot make movement there.
145. Tīkā on Bhagavatī Vyākhyāprajñapti, śataka 16, uddeśaka 8, sutra 564; Tīkā of Prajñāpanāsutra, Purvārdha, pāda 16, sutra 205, pp. 326-27.
146. Pravacansāra by Kundakunda (Vrtti), part II, śloka 16.
147. Tīkā on Bhagavatī Vyākhyāprajñapti, śataka 16, uddeśaka 8, sūtra 584, Tattvārthādhigamasutra by Umāsvāti, Prathama Vibhāga, Ch. II, sūtra 27, (Bhāṣya).
148. Ibid.



149. Tikā on Prajñāpanasūtra, Pūrvārddha, pāda 86, sūtra 205.
150. Tattvārthā Rājavārtika by Akalaṅkadeva, bhāṣya I, Ch. II, Sūtra 26, Vide Jaina padarthavijñānmen pudgala by Śrī Mohanlal Bāṇthia, p. 72, published by Jaina Śvetambara Terāpanthī Mahāśabhā, Calcutta, 1960.
151. Tikā on Bhagavatī Vyākhyāprajñapti, śataka 25, uddeśaka 4, sūtra 744.
152. Ibid., śataka 5, uddeśaka 6, sūtra 217.
153. Ibid. śataka 25, uddeśaka 4, sūtra 744.
154. Ibid., śataka 5, uddeśaka 6, sūtra 217.
155. Studies in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Metaphysics, by Dr. Sadānanda Bhaduri, published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1947, pp. 146-47.
156. Sthānāṅgasūtra, prathama Vibhāga, with Tikā of Abhayadevasuri, published by Āgamodayasamiti, Bombay, 1918, Sthāna, 3, uddeśaka 4, sūtra 211, p. 171.
157. Tattvārthādhigamasūtra by Umāsvāti, Prathama Vibhāga, p. 368 (See Bhāṣya).
158. Physics-Principles and Application by Margenau, Watson and Montgomery, p. 261.
159. Atomic Physics by Harnwell and Stephens, 1.4, p. 12.
160. Ibid.
161. Ibid., p. 65.
162. Atoms and the Universe, by G.O. Jones, J. Rotblat and Whitrow, p. 84.
163. Ibid., p. 87.
164. Ibid., p. 126.



165. *Mysteries of Space*, p. 5 (UNESCO pamphlet).
166. *History of Indian Philosophy* by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, Vol. 1, p. 250.
167. "Tanmātrarupādeḥ Kiṃ kāraṇam iti cet svakāraṇadravyāṇāṃ nyūnādhikabhāvena anyo" anyam prati saṃyogaviśeṣa eva svajātiyopaśambhādīna vṛddhihrāsādikam ca yuktaṃ, vide *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, p. 25.
168. *The positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, pp. 25-26.  
 "Śaḍviśeṣāḥ tadyatha śabdatanmātram sparśatanmātram gandhatanmātram ca ityekadvitricatuṣpañcalakṣaṇaḥ,

Śabdādayaḥ pañcaviśeṣāḥ I"

Vyāsabhāṣya on Yogasutra 18-pada II, p. 88.

"Ahaṅkārāt śabdatanmātram tatacāhaṅkārasahakṛtāt śabdatanmātrāt śabdaśparśaguṇaṃ sparśatanmātram I evaṃkrameṇa ekaikaguṇa-vṛdhyā tanmātrāni utpadyante",

Śāṅkhyapravacanabhāṣya, 1.62.

"Śabdādīnāṃ mūrttisamānajātiyānāṃ ekah pariṇāmaḥ pṛthivīparamāṇavaḥ tanmātrāvayavāḥ I bhūtāntareṣu api snehausṇyapariṇāmitva avakāśadānāni upādāya sāmānyam ekavikārāmbhaḥ samādheyaḥ I"

Vyāsabhāṣya on Yogasutra, Sutra, 14, pāda IV.

Tadyathā gandhatanmātram varjjayitvā catustanmātrāṇām snehajātiyānāṃ ekah pariṇāmaḥ jalaparamaṇuḥ teṣāṃtebhyaḥ ca mahājalādīḥ I

teṣāṃ mahākāśādīḥ, Vijñānabhikṣu remarks.

"atra darśane ayam siddhāntaḥ śabdāditanmātrapañcake Kāṭhinya-snehādivyaṅgyaḥ pṛthivivādi jātiyaḥ santi"

Yogavārttika, Śū, 14, pāda IV,

Vide *The positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, pp. 26-7.



169. Vaiśeṣikasūtra II. 1-24.

170. Praśastapādabhāṣya, Guṇapadārthanirūpaṇam.

171. “Pārthivaparamāṇurūpādinām pākajotpattividhānam I Ghaṭāderāma-dravyasyāgninā sambadhasyāgnybhighātānnodanādvā tadārambhakeṣvaṇuṣu Karmānyutpadyante tebhyo vibhāgah vibhagebhyah samyoga vināśah samyogavināśebhyśca Kāryadravyam Vinasyati I tasmin Vinaṣte svatantreṣu paramāṇuṣvagnisamyogādauṣṇyāpekṣyāmādinām vināśah punaranyasmādagnisamyogādauṣṇyāpekṣāt pākajā jāyante I,

Praśastapādabhāṣya, pākajaprakaraṇam.

172. Vaiśeṣikasūtra Upaskāra, 7.1.6 ; Nyāyakandali of Śrīdhara, p. 107. Kīraṇāvali of Udayana, p. 183, Nyāyamañjari of Jayantabhaṭṭa, pt. II. pp. 11-12.

Nyāyavārtika of Uddyotakara, chap. III, Āhnika, 1, Sūtra 4.

173. Apāke nihkṣiptasya ghaṭāderāmadravyasya vahnina nodanābhighātādva tadārambhakeṣu paramāṇusu dravyārambhakasamyogavirodhi-vibhāgenārambhakasamyoganaśedravyanāśāvaśyambhāvāt I dṛśyate hi sthālyāmāhitānām, etc”. Vaiśeṣikasūtra Upaskāra, 7.1.6 ; Praśastapādabhāṣya, pākajaprakaraṇam.

174. Ibid.

175. Ibid.

176. Ibid., Nyāyakandali, p. 107 ; Kīraṇāvali, p. 183 ; Nyāyamañjari, pt. II, pp. 11-12, Nyāyavārtika of Uddyotakara, ch. III, āhnika 1, Sūtra 4.

177. Vyomavati, p. 447—a commentary on Praśastapādabhāṣya ed. CSS. “Evām ghaṭādināmasthāyitvam na ca ghaṭāderavināśe Kardamādi-bhīrvinā punarutpattiyukta I etc.

178. Vyomavati, p. 447.

179. “Bandhe samadhikaupārīṇāmikau’, Tatvārthādhigama-sutra, ch. V. 36.



180. "Saṅghātād-bhedāt Saṅghātabhedādi tebhyastribhyaḥ Kāraṇebhyaḥ skandhā utpadyante dvipradeśādayaḥ 1"

Tattvārthabhāṣya, V, 26, p. 366.

181. Tadyathā-dvayoh paramāṇvoḥ saṅghātāt dvipradeśaḥ dvipradeśa-yśca saṅghātātripradeśaḥ, evaṃ saṃkhyeyānāmasaṃkeyyānām ca pradeśānām saṅghātāt tāvat pradeśaḥ 1"

Tattvārthādhigamasūtra Bhāṣya, p. 367.

Eṣāmeva bhedād-dvipradeśaparyantāḥ, Ibid. p. 370.

182. "Bhedādeva paramāṇurutpadyate na saṅghātāditi 1" Ibid., p. 371,  
See also the Tikā of Siddhasena Gaṇin, Ibid. p. 371.

183. Atoms and the Universe, p. 132.

184. Ibid., pp. 132-133.

185. "Saṅgah, Saṅgākhyah yah samyogaviśeṣah tenaiva dravyāṇām Vikāro bhavati 1"

Pravacanabhāṣya, p. 136, Vijñānabhikṣu

See The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, p. 48.

186. The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, p. 49.

187. Ibid.

188. "Evamekaikaguṇasambhavāt pradhānaguṇam āśritya apradhānaguṇāḥ pariṇāmabhedān pravarttayanti 1"

Sāmkhyatattva-kaumudī by Vacāspati Miśra on Kārikā 16,

See the Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, p. 50.

189. "Yathakāśadekarasam salilam patitam nānārupāt saṃśleṣat bhidyate"—gauḍapāda on Kārikā 17,

Vide the Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, p. 50.

Tatra api (taijase sarire api) bahutarapārthivavayavāṣṭambhāt, alpatve ca anupabhogāt 1"



Aniruddha on Sūtra 112, Chap. V.

“Jātisāmkaryasya asmākamadoṣatvātsāmagrisamavadhāne anekairapi  
indriyaiḥ ekada ekavṛttyutpādane bādhakam nāsti 1”

Sāmkhyapravacanabhāṣya, See p. S. A. H. p. 50.

190. “Tathā anyonyāśrayaśca dvyanukavat guṇaḥ 1”  
Gauḍapāda on Kālikā 12;

See the positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, p. 52.

191. The Positive Science of the Ancient Hindus, p. 53.

As for instance, Sūkṣmaśarīra (Subtle body), the Vehicle of the sentient principle is admitted by Vijñānabhikṣu to be pañcabhūtāt-  
maka (pentra-bhautika) i.e. all the five tanāmtas function as Upādā-  
nakāraṇas (material cause), though the gross body is stated to be a  
“heterogenic” compound with the Earth Bhūta as a radical or base  
(See Sāmkhyapravacanabhāṣya, sūtra 11, 12, 19. Chap. III).

192. Śivāditya, Saptapadārthin, Vide Commentary; p. 21.

193. “Stimitavāyuste paramāṇusamūha eva anārabdha dravyaḥ 1”,  
Saptapadārthin, p. 21.

194. “Kāryaguṇaṁ Kāraṇaguṇapūrvakam 1”

Vaiśeṣikasūtra 7.1.6.

195. Anavarataparispandamānāparimita-pavanādiparamāṇavaḥ 1;

Raghunāthaśiromaṇi, Vide P.S.A.H. p. 100.

“Gatiślatvāt patatravyapadeśaḥ patantiti 1”

Nkusumāñjali, Udayana, Vide, P.S.A.H., p. 100

196. “Dvyanukairbahubhirārabhyate ityapi niyamo na,.....navadrṣṭa-  
kāritā sarvabhāvānām sṛṣṭiḥ 1”

Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdhara, Pṛthivīnirupanam, pp. 80-81.



“Yadā caturaṇukamārabhate caturṇām dvyaṇukānāmārambhakatvāt  
1” cf. Vācaspati's Report, Bhāmatī, Chap. II pāda II, sūtra 2.

197. “Paramāṇudvyaṇukeṣu bahutvasaṃkhyā tairārabdhe Kāryadravye  
tryaṇukādilakṣaṇe 1”

Prasastapādabhāṣya, Parimāṇanirūpaṇam, p. 57.

198. Caturvidhaḥ paramāṇavaḥ kṣitijalāgnivāyunām 1” dvābhyām para-  
māṇubhyām dvyaṇukamārabhyate tribhiḥ paramāṇubhistryaṇuka-  
mārabhyate, etc. 1.

Utpala, ch. 1, śloka 7, Bṛhatsaṃhitā.

cf. also Śrīdhara's admission “Athavā yadi paramāṇavo dvyaṇuka-  
mārabhya tatsahitastryaṇukamārabhante tryaṇukasahitastu 1”  
(Śārīrakabhāṣya).

199. “Samānajātīyasamyogaḥ dravyārambhakaḥ na vijātīyasamyogaḥ 1”  
Vide P.S.A.H., p. 98.

Sā pṛthivī sthairyādyavayavasannīveśaviśiṣṭā aparajātībahutvopetā 1”  
Prasastapādabhāṣya, Pṛthivinirūpaṇam, p. 12.

“Sthariyaṃ nivatvaṃ.....aparajatayo vvaajyante 1” Hyāyakandali,  
p. 81.

“Sthairyam sthīratā.....dravyopanipātamatreṇaiva bhaṅguravāt 1”  
Kiraṇāvalī of Udayana, Pṛthivinirūpaṇam.

200. “Teṣāmānumānena vināśaḥ parikalpate 1.....Pratikṣaṇamutpādavi-  
nāśau sambhavata iti’ 1, Nyāyamañjari (Bhūta- caitanya pūrva-  
paksa), Vide P.S.A.N., p. 102.

Prakṛtiṣuṣiratayaiva Kāryadravyasya ghaṭādeḥ ārambhāt antastejaḥ  
Kaṇānupraveśakṛtapākopapatteḥ ... pīṭharapākapakṣa eve peśalaḥ  
1” Ibid.

“Ye bījāvayavāste pūrvavyūhaparitāyāgena vyūhāntaramāpadyante  
Vyūhāntarāpatteḥ ca pṛthividhāturabdhātunā saṃgrhita.....

Yadi tu syāt Kadācit nopalabhyeta”

Nyāy vārtika, Uddyotakara, Ch. II, āhnika 1, sūtra, 4.



201. The Central Conception of Buddhism, Stcherbatsky, p. 12.
202. Ibid.
203. "The actual number of atoms in Saṅghātaparamāṇu will be much great, since each atom of secondary (bhautika) matter needs a set of four primary atoms of its own, but if dhatus alone are reckoned the number will express the classes (dhātus) of elements (dharma) represented", Ibid. (cf. Abh-k-II.22)
204. Ibid.
205. Vide The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, pp. 92-93.
206. Tattvārthādhigamasutra by Umāsvāti, prathama vibhāga, ch. V. sutra 26, p. 366.
207. Ibid. p. 367 (See Bhāṣya).
208. Tīkā on Bhagavatī Vyākhyāprajñapti, śāntaka 8, uddeśaka 9, sutra 345, and Prajñāpanā, purvārtha, pāda 13, sutra 185, Bandhaṣaṭtri-mśikā by Banaraṣigaṇi, Śrī Ātmānandagranthamāla, dvādaśaratnam p. 10.
209. Tīkā on Bhagavatī Vyākhyāprajñapti, śāntaka 1, uddeśaka 10, sutra 80.
210. Ibid.
211. Tattvārthādhigamasutra.  
Prathama Vibhāga, ch. V, sutra 32, p. 420.
- 212.x Ibid.
212. Ibid.
213. Ibid., Ch. V, sutra 34, p. 422.
214. Prajñāpanasutra (Tīkā), purvārtha, pāda 13, sutra 185, p. 287.
215. Tattvārthādhigamasutra by Umāsvāti, prathama Vibhāga Ch. V, Sutra 33, p. 421.



216. Ibid., Ch. V. sutra 34, p. 422.
217. Ibid.
218. Ibid., Ch. V, sutra 35, p. 424.
219. Ibid., See the Commentary on Ch. V, sutra 33, p. 421.
220. Ibid., pp. 421-22.
221. Ibid., See the Commentary on Ch. V, sutra 34, p. 422.
222. Ibid., p. 433.
223. Ibid., p. 424.
224. Ibid.,
225. Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya by Vijñānabhikṣu, ed. by Śrī Rāmaśaṅkara Bhaṭṭācārya, published by Bhāratīya Vidyā Prakāśan, Vārānasī, VS. 2022, Ch. V, sutra 65; p. 212; See The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, p. 49.
226. Tattvārthadhigamasutra, prathama Vibhāga, p. 423.
227. Atoms and the Universe by Jones, G.O. Rotblat, 3, and Whitrow.



216. 1841. On V. ante 34 p. 423.

217. 1841.

218. 1841. On V. ante 35 p. 424.

219. 1841. On V. ante 35 p. 424.

220. 1841. p. 425.

221. 1841. On V. ante 35 p. 425.

222. 1841. p. 425.

223. 1841. p. 425.

224. 1841.

225. 1841. On V. ante 35 p. 425.

226. 1841. On V. ante 35 p. 425.

227. 1841. On V. ante 35 p. 425.



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